Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-010
Friday
15 January 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-010 *15 January 1988*

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Attends Sofia City BCP Conference 1
Zhivkov Discusses Reconstruction 1
New Committee Members Elected 1
Price Increase Reports Officially Refuted 2
Problems of Prepared Food Industry Discussed *[Daskalov in RABOTNICHESKO DELO 14 Jan]* 2
Program for Limiting Alcohol Intake Viewed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 12 Jan]* 3
Zhivkov Meets USSR Council Chairman 3
Hungarian Private Enterprises Discussed *[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 13 Jan]* 3
TU Cooperation Agreement With Syria Signed 4
Atanasov Receives Libyan Industry Minister 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia To Attend Seoul Olympics 5
Charter 77 Makes Public Appeal for Reforms *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 15 Jan]* 5
Church Petitions To End State 'Interference' *[AFP]* 5
Fojtik Slams 1968 Reform, Views Restructuring *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Jan]* 6
Fojtik Addresses Aktiv on Propaganda 10
CPSL Central Committee Meets in Bratislava 11
Jakes, Lenart Attend Session 11
Highlights of Lenart Report 12
Jakes Addresses CPSL Session 17
Resolution Adopted 21
Bilak on Reform to Bohemia Party Meeting 22

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Stoph Meets USSR's Antonov, Delegation 23
Joint Commission Issues Statement 23
FRG's Rau, Honecker Continue Meetings 24
Discuss Arms Control 24
Rau Comments on Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* 25
ADN Reports Rau News Conference 25
Police Arrest 1 After 'Incident' *[Hamburg DPA]* 26
Steglich Comments on CSCE Talks 26

HUNGARY

Benyi Interviewed on Foreign Policy *[MAGYAROPSZAG 8 Jan]* 27
Medgyessy To Head New Economic Committee 28
1988 Trade Protocol Signed With GDR 29
Economic Results for January-November 1987 *[NEPSZABADZAG 6 Jan]* 29
Official on Leaders' Employment Status *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 4 Jan* 30
Law Amended on Official Corruption, Drug Use *[MAGYAR NEMZET 7 Jan]* 30
Economic Prospest for 1988 Assessed *[Boker in MAGYAR HIRLAP 4 Jan]* 31
Daily Holds Forum on Wages, Taxes, Incomes *[NEPSZABADSAG 8 Jan]* 31
Activity of Small-Scale Cooperatives Reviewed *[NEPSZABADSAG 6 Jan]* 32
MAGYAR NEMZET Assesses Unemployment *[MAGYAR NEMZET 6 Jan]* 32
Formation of Jobless Trade Unions Reported *[Vieena DIE PRESSE 13 Jan]* 33
Manpower Trends in Building Industry *[MAGYAR NEMZET 2 Jan]* 33
Peace Council Head Returns from Meetings 34
New Political College Rector Nominated *[MAGYAR NEMZET 5 Jan]* 34

POLAND

Leaders, Press View Visit by FRG's Genscher 35
Text of Genscher Speech *[TRYBUNA LUDU 12 Jan]* 35
Orzechowski Speaks at Dinner *[TRYBUNA LUDU 12 Jan]* 36
FRG'S Kohl Reviews Trip 38
Talks Give 'New Impulse' 38
Call for 'Closer Cooperation' *[Drecki in TRYBUNA LUDU 13 Jan]* 38
Orzechowski Meets Norwegian Officials 39
Aide Discusses Relations With World Bank, IMF *[SZTANDAR LUDU 20 Oct]* 39
Gwiazda Meets Foreign Trade Representatives 40
Domestic Trade Ministry Duties Described 40
ZDANIE Editor Analyzes 6th Plenum, Problems *[ZYCIE PARTII 30 Dec]* 41
Jan 21 Sejm Session Agenda Outlined 44
Barcikowski Discusses Local Election Law 44
PUWP Meeting Held on Enterprise Restructuring 44
Jaruzelski Receives Anti-Alcohol Activists 45
OPZZ Drops Coal Dispute Case 45
Steps To Combat Fuel Shortage Outlined 46
Farmers Dissatisfied With Farming Progress *[Rys in SZTANDAR MLODYCH 5 Jan]* 46

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting 14 Jan 47
All-European Reunion Proposals 47
Mining Equipment Achievements Reported 47
Vaduva Meets FRG's Kohl, Genscher in Bonn 48

YUGOSLAVIA

Gorbachev To Visit in 'Next Few Months' 49
Soviet Youth Delegation Pays Visit 49
Mojsov Receives Message of Thanks From Reagan 49
Bulgarian Delegation Visits Zajecar *[BORBA 7 Jan]* 49
Italy Agrees to Greater 'Financial Opening' 50
Citizen's Imprisonment in Chad Protested 50
LCY Central Committee Considers Amendments 50
Zarkovic Press Briefing 50
Committee Session 51
Selani on Changes *[BORBA 11 Jan]* 56
Youth Official on LCY Presidium's Letter *[BORBA 7 Jan]* 56
Nationalism Seen in Bosnia-Hercegovina 57
Increase in Kosovo LC Membership Reported 58
Kosovo Doctor Jailed for 'National Hatred' *[RILINDJA 9 Jan]* 58

Zhivkov Attends Sofia City BCP Conference

AU141235 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] The Sofia City BCP organization opened its accountability-election conference in Sofia's Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture this morning. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Politburo members and candidate members, and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee are taking part in the conference. Zakhari Stanimirov reports from the reporters' room in the conference hall:

[Begin Stanimirov recording] The accountability report of the Sofia City BCP Committee was distributed in advance. In his introductory speech Ivan Panev, first secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee, pointed out the chief and essential features in the work of the Sofia City BCP organization, namely, the implementation of the strategic course for a qualitatively new level in all areas of society and execution of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the July and November Plenums of the BCP Central Committee.

In assessing the activity during the first 2 years of the 5-year-plan period, Ivan Panev pointed out that the capital's immense political, economic, social, scientific, and cultural potential has still not been brought into action: [end recording]

[Begin Panev recording] In Sofia 15 percent of the country's industrial capacities and 23 percent of its scientific potential are concentrated. These production and intellectual resources—enormous in relation to our size—create barely 14 percent of the national income and 13 percent of the country's industrial production. The query justifiably arises whether the capital's contribution to national development should be such. We must immediately assert that during this period of time we could have achieved substantially better results, and the changes could have been more complete, both in field of production and in the intellectual area. [end recording]

[Resume Stanimirov recording] Over the last 2 years social labor productivity in Sofia has risen by 21.6 percent, and profitability by 21.3 percent. Programs have been drawn up and already are being put into effect in the main directions of technological renewal and restructuring of Sofia's economy—automation, electronic systems, the laser industry, biotechnologies, and new raw and other materials.

However, the difficulties that accompany the fulfillment of the plan for scientific, technical, socioeconomic, and economic development of the labor collectives are very serious. A number of orders are not being fulfilled, and deviations in the quality of goods produced are being permitted. Notwithstanding the positive changes, the necessary changes are not being achieved in overcoming the capital's severe social problems—trade, transportation, other types of services, and the ecological condition of the great city.

These and other conclusions in Ivan Panev's introduction and the accountability report of the Sofia City BCP Committee formed the subject of the debates that lasted until lunchtime. The debates were critical and self-critical, constructive and optimistic, because everyone clearly sees the chief task, namely to create a model for the capital's development that conforms to the new realities and requirements, in order to turn Sofia into a highly organized city. This will create modern conditions for work and the socialist way of life, which will provide all conditions for the capital's culture and for more humanity and morality in life.

The delegates are due to have a break at about 1300, after which the speeches will continue. [end recording]

Zhivkov Discusses Reconstruction

AU141805 Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, spoke on the principal issues of reconstruction in Bulgaria at the report and election conference of the Sofia City Party organization. He expressed the conviction that the communists will continue to stand in the vanguard of revolutionary innovation.

The report and election conferences of the BCP organizations precede the national party conference. It will be opened on January 28 and will discuss the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

Reconstruction and the measures for the implementation of the resolutions of the July 1987 Plenum of the CC of the BCP, which approved the concept on the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria, were the main issues discussed at the report and election meetings and conferences of the party organizations.

New Committee Members Elected

AU141922 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Excerpts] On 14 January at Sofia's Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture the 26th accountability-election conference of the BCP Sofia City Organization took place. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman; members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; and Central Committee secretaries took part in its work. [passage omitted]

A new BCP Sofia City Committee and BCP Sofia City Control-Auditing Committee were elected. Delegates to the BCP National Conference were also elected. Comrade Todor Zhivkov is among them.

The first plenum of the BCP Sofia City Committee elected Ivan Panev first secretary. Mincho Chuntov, Stanka Shopova, Vasil Tsurvenkov, and Stayko Stoyanov were elected secretaries. Stanko Starchev was elected chairman of the BCP Sofia City Control-Auditing Commission.

Price Increase Reports Officially Refuted
AU141817 Sofia BTA in English
1729 GMT 14 Jan 88

["Untrue Report"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Today the REUTERS News Agency quoted TANJUG as saying that Bulgaria has allegedly "increased prices of luxury goods by 50 per cent" and listed a number of items.

This does not correspond to the truth. The prices of neither luxury nor of any other type of goods have been raised in Bulgaria.

Problems of Prepared Food Industry Discussed
AU141530 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 14 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Panayot Khr. Daskalov: "Industrial Food Preparation"]

[Excerpts] The food product problem or, as M. Gorbachev called it, "the issue of major policy," cannot be completely resolved without changes in the preparation of foods. Science has added to its knowledge concerning the effects of food on the organism, and has very satisfactorily explained the relationship between the changes in nutrition caused by altered living conditions and modern diseases. [passage omitted]

In the food industry the present day requirements have led to the formation of a new integrated technology that may be called food product engineering. [passage omitted]

After all that has been said, the question naturally arises: Are special prepared food products available in Bulgaria? A positive answer can be given to this question only when a solid industrial base is available, a base much different from that of the present food industry. [passage omitted]

Statistical data shows that in countries where special foods are manufactured by modern methods, the incidence of heart attacks has fallen by 24 percent in the last 10 years. And it is not insignificant that many of these countries export food ingredients, and not raw materials, which produces a great economic benefit.

The production of special foods has the convincing economic advantage of being waste-free. With meat being used in the way it is at present, over 30 percent goes to waste, and losses from using only certain individual components of milk range from 10 to 50 percent. For example, in the production of white cheese over 350 tonnes of very useful protein is thrown away with the brine. When 100 tonnes of potatoes are prepared in the kitchen, 3 tonnes of starch is lost. [passage omitted]

Labor productivity in industrial food preparation is over 25 times higher than that in restaurants and canteens. In industry a single worker can prepare 1,300 portions in a shift, whereas a worker in public catering can barely produce 50. If Bulgarian consumers were fed by public catering, we would need from 850,000 to 900,000 workers, whereas only 50,000 would be required if the meals were industrially prepared.

In order to know what our agriculture is producing, one does not have to read the reports of the National Agro-Industrial Union Association. Every Bulgarian knows that he cannot at all times buy the sort of meat he needs. There is a shortage of pulses, and paprika is not being produced. Green beans and peas are in short supply, or have totally disappeared from the market. Strawberries are available in only one-tenth of the previous quantities. There have been falls in supplies not only of raspberries and red and black cherries, but also of apples, tomatoes, potatoes, peaches, apricots, and grapes. There has been an overall deterioration in the range of products available. From being a well-known exporter of fruit and vegetables, Bulgaria has become an importer of these products. This lasting phenomenon can hardly be blamed on the misfortunes of nature. The cause and the responsibility for this should be sought in the ranks of the actual leaders of agriculture and in the National Agro-Industrial Union. Why has it progressively shut down the enterprises for processing red peppers and dried onions, thus depriving us of valuable foreign exchange? Grape juice production has fallen to 200 tonnes, whereas in the thirties we used to sell over 30,000 tonnes. The annual per capita consumption of natural juices has remained at 750 grams, whereas in mountainous Switzerland every citizen drinks over 125 liters of home-produced juices each year.

In other countries food manufacturing enterprises exert an influence on agriculture, determining what varieties and breeds are cultivated or reared and which technologies are used. For example, bacon plants require the producers to rear certain breeds, using specified feed mixtures. Production in both branches is guaranteed only by mutual agreement. [passage omitted]

In Bulgaria we have no time to waste if we want the food industry to meet the demands of the present and future. In my personal view, this industry must be placed on an economic footing, combining market requirements with those of the scientific approach, instead of carrying out orders that are in conflict with its own interests.

Program for Limiting Alcohol Intake Viewed
AU131509 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 88 p 3

[Report by Elena Papanikolau and Vladimira Topalova on 11 November session of the Committee for State and People's Control that checked the implementation of the governmental program for limiting alcohol consumption: "Has the Proof Strength Been Reduced?"]

[Excerpts] According to the data of the Central Statistical Administration of the Council of Ministers for the first 9 months of 1987, during this period 4.19 percent less beer was sold as compared to the same period of 1986, 5.10 percent more wine, 16.93 percent less liqueurs of various types, and 24.69 percent less hard liquor. The total percentage of alcohol in the counitry's goods turnover fell by 173 million leva or 34.3 percent. However, soft drinks production, instead of rising, fell by 0.11 percent. [passage omitted]

Results of Inspection by the Committee for State and People's Control:

The "Khraninvest" Economic Trust in Stara Zagora failed to create conditions for manufacturing 21 bottling lines in 1988. Prior to the inspection, only 9 lines were provided, the design work on 8 further lines is delayed, and there is no production capacity available for the remaining 4 lines.

The National Agro-Industrial Union Association and the Central Cooperative Union have worked out a program for soft drinks production up to 1990. However, no means are provided for repairing, reconstructing, and modernizing the lines that produce soft drinks under license. [passage omitted]

The State Planning Commission, the National Agro-Industrial Union Association, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry failed to approve by 31 March 1987 programs for gradually changing the variety structure of the vine and fruit plantations with a view to stepping up the production of dessert varieties....

Due to shortages of grapes, the "Vinprom" Economic Trust failed to fulfill its contractual obligations for providing 2000 tonnes of grape must for fruit beverages. To date only 50 tonnes have been produced and delivered. [passage omitted]

Proposals arising from the inspection of the Committee for State and People's Control:

The Ministry of Justice and the other ministries with obligations should speed up the submission to the Council of Ministers of a proposal for amendments and addenda to the laws and other regulatory documents arising from Decree No. 67.

The Ministry of the Economy and Planning should take the necessary steps to provide resources for the programs for changing the variety structure of the vine and fruit plantations for soft drinks production.

The managements of the National Agro-Industrial Union Association, Central Cooperative Union, "Vinprom" Economic Trust, "Bulgarplod" Economic Trust, "Khraninvest" Economic Trust, "Dairy Industry" Economic Trust, and "Soft Drinks and Mineral Waters" Economic Trust should make an assessment of the work that has been completed, take additional measures to eliminate the weaknesses that have been permitted, and call to account the responsible officials.

Zhivkov Meets USSR Council Chairman
AU151023 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov received in Sofia's Boyana Residence Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is visiting Bulgaria. Comrade Andrey Lukanov, Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, and Soviet Ambassador Leonid Grekov took part in the meeting.

Hungarian Private Enterprises Discussed
AU141856 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 13 Jan 88 p 3

[Radka Nenova, Budapest correspondent, article: "Between Risk and Profit"]

[Text] The trade unions, also agree that the work day in Hungary is excessively long—12 to 14 hours. According to them, however, if a Hungarian is willing to work additional hours in order to increase his income, he cannot be deprived of this right, especially under the present circumstances of the country's difficult situation. Numerous forms of private labor initiative give the Hungarians great opportunities in this respect. There is even more—every Hungarian citizen, according to the country's Constitution, is granted the right of creating his own production units in, or outside of, his working time. Such units fill numerous gaps, such as in labor organization and in connection with the manpower shortage, as well as in producing small series of goods, in providing goods and services that are in short supply. In addition, these private units have a very effective share in the national income and without them this income would be much lower and the influence of unfavorable, external economic factors would much more strongly affect the country. Experts insist that the Hungarian economy cannot afford to deprive itself of the opportunity to invest private capital into its blood circulation [as published] and that it even encourages this process. One of the methods for this encouragement is the selling of enterprises. For example, when a private person purchases shares [obligatsii], the interest percentage is

higher than that for saving account investments. This is how a basic economic requirement—namely a prompt turnover of private and public capital—is fulfilled.

These small links are better organized and their labor productivity is higher than that of enterprises in the state-owned sector. Incomes are higher, but the risks are greater. A report published by the Ministry of Trade points out that in the second half of 1987 nearly 3,000 people working in the garment trade handed in their licences. At the same time 4,000 other people joined similar enterprises. On one hand, this is a result of the flexibility of the aforementioned sector, which quickly gives up territories that are more, or less saturated. On the other hand, it is because people who engaged in this work had not sufficiently calculated the risks involved in such activities. Anyone who goes bankrupt is personally responsible for it and has to bear the consequences.

These forms of economic policy are based on long experience in Hungary. Phenomena and trends have already been established in these respects, making it possible to apply different regulators. Without entering into details in the immense territory of prices and price formation, I would like to recall an event of last spring. When in spring 1987 the strawberries on the domestic, private market reached outrageous prices, the state imported strawberries from the socialist countries which were sold much more cheaply in the state-owned stores. The private sector withstood this competition for two days only.

The basic regulator, however, is the new taxation system which became effective as of the beginning of 1988 and which represents the core of the new government program for the stabilization and expansion of the national economy. As for the private sector, this system aims not only at settling the incomes, but is influencing efficiency in using manpower, in labor productivity, and so forth. The social security system which was subject to substantial changes, as well, is part of these regulators.

TU Cooperation Agreement With Syria Signed

AU141949 Sofia BTA in English
1837 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—The signing here today of a cooperation agreement for the period up to 1990 between the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and Syria's General Federation of Labor Unions was the closing event in the visit by a delegation led by Mr 'Izz al-Din Nasir, chairman of the General Federation of Labor Unions. The Syrian delegation conferred with a Bulgarian delegation headed by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

As a result, the agreement outlines the main areas of the future exchange of experience. It is planned to enhance the interaction between the individual trade union federations, between the workforces in the two countries.

A communique on the talks points out that they have been fruitful and have identified opportunities for more active trade union cooperation.

The communique stresses the two trade union leaderships' preparedness to work for the promotion of ties on the broadest basis and to make their own contribution to the activity of the WFTU for the enhancement of trade-union unity to benefit peace and social progress.

Atanasov Receives Libyan Industry Minister

AU141731 Sofia BTA in English
1647 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA)—Today Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Ahmad Fathi ibn Shatwan, secretary of the General People's Committee for Industry of Libya, who is visiting here in connection with the 17th session of the Joint Bulgaro-Libyan Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

The two sides gave a positive assessment to the development of bilateral economic relations pointing out that there exist favorable conditions for diversifying the forms of interaction. The talks specified new projects for cooperation and expressed a mutual wish to promote contacts in electronics and agriculture, for setting up joint enterprises and small and medium-size enterprises.

Czechoslovakia To Attend Seoul Olympics

LD151332 Prague CTK in English
1215 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Prague Jan 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia will participate in the Summer Olympic Games in an effort "to help improve the international situation and apply new thinking in international relations."

The announcement was made here today following a joint session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Physical Training Organization (CSTV) and the National Olympic Committee.

They noted that the choice of Seoul as the venue of the games was "unsuitable, as the internal political situation in South Korea documents, but they consider it necessary to actively apply and enhance the ideals of the Olympic movement which represents in the present-day world a force on the side of peace, understanding and friendship among nations."

The CSTV Presidium and the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee continue to support the proposals to hold some of the Olympic events on the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. "They believe that with active contribution of the International Olympic Committee an acceptable solution will be found which will be in harmony with the desires of the Korean people and correspond to the spirit of the Olympic movement," a communique from the session said.

The CSTV Presidium and the National Olympic Committee also nominated Czechoslovak Sportsmen who are to attend the 15th Winter Olympic Games in Calgary, Canada next month, but the final choice will not be made until January 25.

The 61 athletes who will go to Calgary will seek to gain three medals and 23 Olympic points, CSTV Deputy Chairman Juraj Kniezo told journalists today. The group will be led by CSTV Chairman Antonin Himl and Czechoslovak sportsmen will participate in all events with the exception of bobsleighs.

Five Czechoslovak sportsmen are being nominated for biathlon, six for figure skating, 23 for ice hockey, two for luge, one for speed skating and 24 for the skiing events (five each for men's and women's cross-country and ski jumping, four for the Nordic combination, and three and two for the women's and men's Alpine skiing competitions).

Kniezo said that sportsmen with chances of placing among the first ten will go to Calgary, with the exception of the figure skaters, luge and speed skating events in which the competitors are expected to place in the top half of the standings. "We rely primarily on ice hockey players, biathlonists and skiers," Kniezo said.

He announced that between 160 and 200 athletes would go to the Summer Olympic Games and they would be preliminarily nominated on May 17.

Charter 77 Makes Public Appeal for Reforms

AU150953 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
15 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] Prague/Vienna—More than 40 reformers and opposition members, who have been expelled from the Communist Party of the CSSR, including leading personalities of the 1968 "Prague Spring," have made an appeal to the public for reform. In detail, they demand a "comprehensive revolutionary change" in all social areas of the CSSR, the political rehabilitation of about 500,000 people expelled from the party after August 1968, and democratic rights for all. At the same time, they offer the Prague government their cooperation in implementing the reform policy. The appeal is signed by, among others, former Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek.

Previously, the new Charter 77 spokesmen Stanislav Devaty, Milos Hajek, and Bohumir Janat had made a totally different appeal to the European public: In its first document in the new year, Carter 77 dealt with the disastrous situation in Romania.

The Charter members describe the situation in this country as follows: "In winter the temperature in Romanian apartments and offices rarely rises above 10 degrees Celsius, only two 40-watt light bulbs are permitted per apartment. Staple foods, such as flour, sugar, and meat are still rationed—40 years after the war. After 22 years in power, the Romanian ruler offers only one thing to his people: The pompous cult around his own person."

Carter 77 calls on all Europeans that they should feel Gorbachev's demand for a "common European house" addresses them all and they should be aware at the same time that one people lives in fear of hunger and cold in this prosperous house. Therefore, the CSSR civil rights movements demands from the Europeans specific proof of their solidarity with the Romanians. This is to be given on 1 February through all possible, admissible measures: Peaceful protests are to take place in front of the Romanian embassies, for instance, and the governments are to be called upon to help the Romanians.

Church Petitions To End State 'Interference'

AU151109 Paris AFP in English
1101 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Prague, Jan 15 (AFP)—A petition calling for an end to state interference in the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia is circulating here on the eve of next week's scheduled arrival of Vatican officials for negotiations with the authorities.

Church sources said they had already lost count of how many people had signed the 31-point petition, which had exceptionally been approved by the Archbishop of Prague, Frantisek Tomasek, who is 88.

The petition's main demand is for an end to state interference in church activities. "We are calling for the state to stop intervening in nominating new bishops, or priests, and that this should be the Church's internal affair", the text reads.

At present, the majority of Czechoslovakia's 13 dioceses are without a bishop and only two incumbents are recognised by the Vatican, while the Czechoslovak authorities systematically back representatives of Pacem in Terra, a Catholic movement which supports the Communist regime.

The problem is fundamental to the negotiations begun by the Vatican and Prague months ago, which resume here next week.

Cardinal Tomasek, primate of Bohemia, has openly urged Catholics to sign the petition. "I must stress energetically that cowardice and fear are not worthy of a true Christian. In this spirit, I am with you and bless you with all my heart", he wrote in a statement attached to the text.

Other demands are for the restoration of religious orders, currently banned in Czechoslovakia, free religious instruction outside school, the freedom to take part in pilgrimages abroad and receive religious literature from abroad.

Fojtik Slams 1968 Reform, Views Restructuring

AU150601 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "With a Firm and Resolute Step Forward"]

[Text] We have entered a year of historic anniversaries. Before the 40th anniversary of the Victorious February, our most important holiday this year, we will recall the 20th anniversary of January 1968; before the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic we will recall the 50 years that have elapsed since the Munich betrayal. On 28 October we also will recall the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Czechoslovak Federation. But the year 1988 will be important not only because of the memories of the past. We will be returning to that too, mainly because of the lessons, which are of topical importance. And for support in the struggles which we are waging for tomorrow.

This is the third year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, that is, the year that can decide its success or failure. And it is no secret that this 5-year plan, which has already been designed in the spirit of the "strategy of acceleration," is endangered by continuing extensive development. However, the year 1988—as is clear from the conclusions of the exceptionally important sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee held on 17 and 18 December 1987—will be not only a struggle for the plan's indicators with stress on equilibrium. This struggle will at the same time (and in this will lie its complexity and importance) be a struggle for practical embarkation upon the road of restructuring, for the commencement of the realization of a fundamental reform and profound democratization of society, inseparably linked with this reform.

It has already been said that restructuring constitutes a task of a revolutionary nature, a historic new task—the most complex and most important task since the foundations of socialism were laid in our fatherland.

People who see or have some idea of the magnitude of this task are rightly asking themselves many questions on the objectives of restructuring and the course which we have selected or seek. They rightly confront the past with the present, our efforts with the efforts of others, and rightly demand a guarantee that our projects will not remain just a pious wish, that they will not be distorted by opportunist corrections of the reform, that we will embark upon the road of restructuring firmly and resolutely, and that nothing will deflect us from this road leading forward, to the development and strengthening of socialism.

But where are these guarantees? Are they not to be found for example, in broad public support for restructuring, in overcoming the wait-and-see alibi-like attitude produced by the administrative-centralist command and allocation system of management, an attitude that conforms with an extensive development of the economy? But how can we overcome that attitude when it has penetrated the bloodstream of many people, when it has become an organic component of their psychology and mentality, when it has acquired the nature of prejudice, of habit? How does one break the stereotypes for which the preceding era created such exceptionally resistant fertile soil, with petty bourgeoisism, with its schizophrenia sharply separating the public from the private, the interest of society from the interest of a person or a group? After all, petty bourgeoisism long ago acquired the ability to survive and prosper under conditions of socialism, to be a parasite on its achievements, and at the same time camouflage its antisocial essence by posing on the outside, by putting up fronts, by feigning social activity, by formalism. Petty bourgeoisism has deeply penetrated the sphere of politics and ideology: in the forms of a peculiar symbiosis of external pseudoprincipledness and opportunism, a sclerosing dogmatism and low [prizemni] empiricism, and pragmatism.

All the successes which we have achieved in the construction of socialism are the result of an unusually difficult struggle against various phenomena of petty bourgeoisism, whose source is the anachronistic system of bureaucratic centralism and the deformations of

socialist democracy which correspond to it (including the distortion of the party's leading role). However, let us not forget: this system is being kept alive and systematically revived by that petty bourgeoisism, its psychology and ideology, which, according to time-serving considerations, is adept at changing arguments and is capable of monopolizing various mass campaigns "pro" and "con."

Precisely this circumstance forces us not to see in restructuring just changes of an organizational nature reduced to forms and methods of management work, just a set of measures aimed at perfecting planning and making the management of the economic accountability base flexible, but a set of measures aimed at creating a new economic mechanism (on the basis of the socialist economic system) and an entire system of stimulation and activation of the human factor (within the framework of the political system of socialism, giving preference to political considerations—especially social considerations—rather than the economy). What is involved, in essence, is the elimination of retarding factors, which stifle or paralyze the creativity of the working people, their informal work and civic activity and the elimination of everything that relieves people of their social responsibility or, to one extent or another, weakens this responsibility.

This perception of restructuring—which is extensively explained in Mikhail Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World"—is the affirmation of the validity of the Leninist concept of socialism, which calls for the scientific management of society in the way made possible by social ownership of the means of production, and the broadest possible and systematically developing socialist democracy which relies on people's power and the gradual elimination of social classes. If scientific management is required in order to properly restrict the element of hazard in social development, to make the best rational use of the material and intellectual resources of society, ensure its prospects in harmony with the objective needs and realistic possibilities of development, and concentrate forces and resources on the key tasks of national importance, democratization (perceived as a constant process, not as a decentralization "introduced" from time to time) is the vital condition for the creativity of society's united work, for activities and initiatives by the broad strata of the people, and for respecting and coordinating people's interests with needs. Without all this, as has been shown in practice by the numerous breakdowns and serious problems in socialist construction, the dynamic development of socialist society, its economy and intellectual sphere can in no case be achieved.

The resolution on comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and the other documents adopted at the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session proceed from this required organic unity of scientific management and democratism. In other words: from the need to substantially improve and thus strengthen central management and planning, the authority of agencies dealing with this activity, which is reassessed in principle in these documents and, at the same time, from the urgent need to raise the responsibility and independence of the enterprise sphere. What is involved is a consistent application of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, as it is extensively substantiated in the CPCZ Central Committee report delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes. Both aspects of this principle are mutually contingent, they are dialectically linked. The strength of each is determined by the advantages which can be achieved by combining them. Their isolation or detachment, the attempt to apply them one-sidedly or in parallel, independently of one another, necessarily causes harm to and deforms the entire attempt at reform. Therefore it is no coincidence that its comprehensive nature is being stressed, the obligatoriness of a comprehensive approach to its realization. At the same time—and one has to keep this in mind at all times—comprehensiveness does not apply only to the implementation of the two aspects of democratic centralism within the framework of the economy, but has to be viewed in the unity of the economy and policy, just as in the unity of the economy and the given level of society's intellectual development, of people's ideological and cultural maturity.

Those who ask for guarantees that restructuring will be successfully implemented obviously proceed—and rightly so—from the concern about the extent to which the new, current drafts of the economic reform respect past experience and the extent to which they take into account the experience of the other socialist countries. I think that it is possible to responsibly say that our present efforts at economic reform proceed from that experience. The evidence of this is precisely the endeavor for a comprehensive approach to restructuring as has just been mentioned, that is, in a broad perception of this comprehensiveness, with emphasis on the principle of democratic centralism. This determines not only the fundamental identity of our present efforts with the efforts of our Soviet Comrades, of the restructuring which we are carrying out in our country with the restructuring which is under way—with a certain lead—in the USSR, but also the fundamental difference between the course of it in our country and in the USSR and the economic reform at the end of the 1960's, especially in the form presented by the right wing. The earlier attempts were clearly marked by an effort to eliminate centralism and to make a fetish of uncontrollable market forces.

This difference, of course, has a broader base, it concerns the general confrontation of the present-day restructuring with the activity of right-wing opportunists 20 years ago, as this activity was convincingly exposed in the "Lesson From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." Today this document is a thorn in the flesh of the former proponents of the right-wing. No wonder. The things they would do to obfuscate the traces of their activity of that

time precisely now, when they see in restructuring—inspired by the CPSU—an opportunity (this, at least, is what they are saying) to rehabilitate their policy. Those who remained in Czechoslovakia, as well as those who fled to their bread-providers in the service of which they have been slandering their country and socialism for years now, are unanimously asserting that the current CPSU leadership is actually continuing their "undertaking" ["dilo"]. According to them, the "Prague Spring," the "revival process," that is, the post-January development in our country in the first half of 1968, was some sort of "prototype" for today's Soviet restructuring—the difference being that Alexander Dubcek, in contrast to Mikhail Gorbachev, could allegedly be bolder and more consistent, which can be explained by the "specific features" of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union by the traditional democratism in our country and the lack of such democratism in the Soviet Union, where therefore, they say, restructuring must take place "in the form of revolution from the top," something like the reforms of Peter the Great.

You would not believe your eyes, the cheek of our right wing has increased markedly. Some of them are beginning to give us lessons in restructuring, they are talking as if they were its most competent interpreters, and they are even putting on airs as if they had special authorization from Moscow. What they want is obvious. They want to establish themselves at any price and as fast as possible and thrust themselves forward politically, they want to make their way from behind the scenes and make our society adopt their perception of restructuring, which would confirm the continuity of their activity and at the same time cast doubt on the legitimacy of the development which followed their political bankruptcy; the development, which was based on the restoration of socialist values in the period of consolidation, proceeds from revolutionary continuity, whose beginning was the victory of the people in February 1948.

There is certainly no need to magnify the importance of the sudden activity by the proponents of the right wing, who have been disqualified from the political life as a consequence of the activity by which they endangered socialism in our country—and not only in our country. However, it would be a serious political mistake to ignore it and regard their effort to interpret developments in the USSR in the spirit of the right-wing-opportunist concepts of the "revival of socialism" as a "trifle" which can be shrugged off, which is simply a symptom of the historical influence of restructuring which the "world admires." This would only attest to the indifference with which the purpose of restructuring is understood, to the extent to which its objectives are connected with the effort to strengthen and develop socialism. The report delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes at the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session takes an unequivocal stand on this issue: yes, we are realizing restructuring on the basis of a profound and principled criticism of negative phenomena in our society, but we fully respect revolutionary continuity in order to consolidate the achievements of socialism and be able to make the optimum use of the advantages of the socialist social system for the well-being of the working man, for the further development of our society and the strengthening of the CSSR's role in the socialist community and in the world.

When we speak about proponents of right-wing opportunism of 1968, about history rightly disqualifying them from political life and about their return to public activity being unthinkable, when we say that in no case can their activity be vindicated [ospravedlneni] in connection with restructuring, we carefully differentiate between them and those who for one reason or another believed them, because in their time they lent credence to their words about revival and democratization of socialist society. It is understandable that everyone must bear responsibility for his actions. Had the party not drawn conclusions from the activity of those responsible for the disintegration of society and the imperilment of socialism in 1968, it would not have been possible to overcome the crisis and renew socialist construction. But even at that time it was said that everyone writes his own assessment of the future by his activity, above all by his work for society. That was an honorable and principled position. It reflected complete understanding of the complexity of the development which occurred after the January session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968.

Today many people no longer realize—and this is, without doubt, the fault of our propaganda—how systematically and purposefully the self-appointed "men of January" arrogated the right to interpret the conclusions of that January and strove to thwart these conclusions. They did not even permit the January plenum resolution to be published. This resolution had been unanimously adopted by the Central Committee and—in contrast to the Action Program of April 1968—clearly showed what was to be done for the development of socialism and the strengthening of friendship with the USSR and the other socialist countries, and for the genuine renewal of socialism! Those who were for it, who called for the renewal process to take place under the party's control, in harness with the legacy of February, so that the authority of the party—the true revolutionary vanguard—would be strengthened as a result, those who called for the hegemony of the workers class, which bore the brunt of socialist changes and was the guarantee of socialist development, and those who would see that this process would lead to the deepening of fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, all these people were ridiculed as some sort of antedeluvian troglodytes, "dogmatics," and "conservatives" who did not comprehend the "needs of development," who were not able to keep in step with the times and take up "progressive" stances.

On the other hand, a number of people were passed off as "progressive." These were the ones who completely ignored the resolution of the January session (as well as

later the Action Program, which—at a time when they had already massed to dismantle socialism—they no longer needed and therefore proclaimed "stillborn") and who—under the banner of Lenin—had assumed important positions in the party and society, from which they looked on in a capitulationist manner how antisocialist forces were forming, not even disguising their plans to take revenge for February and the "1950's," which were declared a period of darkness, who ultimately began to team up with the counterrevolutionary forces, the activation of which, carried by the wave of steadily increasing nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and primitive anti-Sovietism, they tried to pass off as an expression of "people's activity," and who permitted the party to be pilloried and its revolutionary ideology proclaimed "useless junk" and "alien to our national spirit."

Thus a peculiar paradox arose: the qualities that were the foundation of the successes of the revolution, socialist construction, and truly progressive changes, as well as of the changes in man himself, qualities which had been asserted only with the greatest difficulty and needed to be supported and perseveringly nurtured in all possible ways—dedication to socialism and communist principles, which qualities were intrinsic to the best forces of the workers class and the people—were to be discredited, and had become the target of attacks. And the things that from the beginning represented the greatest threat to the revolution and its prospects, that were put in its way as the most dangerous obstacle, and that needed to be most resolutely combated—petty bourgeois fortuitousness and spasmodic petty bourgeois pseudorevolutionariness (whether in the form of opportunism, sectarianism, bureaucratic highhandedness, careerism, or dogmatism)—were glorified, enshrined in the foundations of the "new policy," "renewed," "democratic centralism," "socialism with a human face." Precisely this paradox, the product of the long-term and systematic work of the ideological protagonists of the "Prague Spring" and all those who played into their hands, directly or indirectly, knowingly or out of stupidity, thus played an unpropitious role in the disorientation of a considerable number of people who welcomed that January with justified hopes, which were not fulfilled because of the right-wing opportunists' extremely irresponsible and hazardous policy.

And not only because of this was this paradox harmful and dangerous. Its logic resided mainly in the fact that it became a part of the social atmosphere, in which hysteria was increasingly gaining the upper hand, making it impossible to resolve everyday problems of social development and carry out the so badly needed changes, the urgency of which had been quite obvious for some time, but which had to be postponed for a long time because of the power struggle provoked by the right wing, in which the very existence of socialism was ultimately at stake.

No one will relieve the right wing of the responsibility for thwarting the conclusions of January 1968. After all, its main representatives and spokesmen are now unmasking themselves. Let us take, for example, Ota Sik, passing himself off and being passed off as the "father of the economic reform" of the 1960's. Today even he is committing himself from his emigration for restructuring, he can very often be heard on Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and on various programs of television companies; he, too, identifies himself with the changes under way in the USSR, saying that he, allegedly, was propagating and already advocating them long ago. However, everyone who follows his activities, his theoretical publications, which he wrote after he left Czechoslovakia, must be astonished over his—to put it mildly—audacity. In those works of his he admits that after he acquainted himself with the Khrushchev speech at the 20th CPSU Congress, his entire political work to date has lost sense, that still by the end of the 1950's the conviction was ripening in him about the inhuman and criminal nature of the entire communist system, which constitutes for him, yes, this is the way Sik expresses it, "communist tyranny." At the root of this tyranny he finds the very theory of Marxism and, especially, Lenin's teachings. He admits that he had to conceal for a long time these views of his. Therefore he declared his works from the 1960's (for example, the book "The Economy, Interests, Politics," published in 1962, as well as his later publications linked to it) to be "tributary to dogmatism," and, in fact, he dissociated himself from them. When reading his extensive book "The Third Road" (of 1970), in which he for the first time gives composite reasons for his renegation, his departure from Marxism (not even in the 1960's did Sik identify himself with Lenin), his hostility toward communism, it becomes clear to us that what Sik called "reform" was supposed to only and solely pave a way leading not to reform, but to the negation of the entire economic and political system of socialism, which Sik regarded as the "error of history." His criticism of administrative, bureaucratic centralism, his stress on market relations, the law of value, his proposals to establish "working people's councils," and such, have quite a different purpose and framework than envisioned by the economic reform, the restructuring of the economic mechanism, which proceeds from the principle of democratic centralism, and which respects relations between politics and the economy, predetermined by the socialist revolution, the role of the socialist state, and the Communist Party, in the very existence of which Sik sees the greatest evil for both the "producer" and the "consumer."

It is again being affirmed: the truth is always concrete. That which is most dangerous to the truth are superficial analogies, ignoring the dialectics of the general, the specific, and the unique, sliding from empirical thinking which is pragmatically motivated (only by immediate interests, by the needs of the moment) to long-winded phrases and generalizations, which are typical of genuine dogmatism with its authoritative judgments. This is not changed in the least if this method is being disguised by referring to "scientific thinking" liberated of "ideological patterns." After all, the entire, downright negativist and hateful criticism of the "communist system," the

way it is done by Ota Sik, is nothing but the coarsest conservative and reactionary ideology, which fits—despite all the progressivist coating—into the arsenals of anticommunism. There would be no greater mistake than to look in it for a "rational core" of a genuine economic reform, which it was being passed for at the time "when it was not possible to speak openly."

Historic anniversaries, which we will be marking this year—among them the 20th anniversary of January 1968 and the events that followed it—are important milestones in our modern history. The truth of socialism has asserted itself in this history. It has done so not as a matter of fate, as a result of the impact of some sort of mechanical forces, blind objective laws or inevitability, such as operate in nature. What we have achieved has been obtained through difficult class struggles at a price of considerable sacrifice. This is what determines the framework of criticism of all negative phenomena. It was a struggle between the old and the new, between forces which were defending their world of exploitation and oppression, in which they enjoyed freedom and privileges, and those who had decided to establish a social system, in which every honestly working and living man would be free.

Decisive for the defeat of the old, historically anachronistic system, and for the victory of the new, socialist system, was the establishment of the revolutionary, political, and intellectual vanguard of the workers class, of the working people—the Communist Party, armed by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, capable of creatively developing and applying this theory in our conditions. The party's ability to lead the working people in the struggle against exploiters and for a new society, was contingent upon its bolshevization, the assimilation of the Leninist style of work, a matter which is, in particular, to Klement Gottwald's credit. The party was thereby able to master tasks which the historic development placed before it, direct it in harmony with the will of our people, with the interests of our nations in a historical era, when it was necessary to defend the very existence of our nations and conclude the age-long struggle for national and social liberation.

It was an immensely hard test. The party has acquitted itself well in it and has won a leading position in our country's political life. However, it had to undergo a no less complex test in the era of the revolutionary changes in our society, during the construction of socialism. It also acquitted itself well in that test—despite all deformations and serious problems, from which we have drawn a lesson for today. There is not the least doubt that the party will acquit itself well in the next stage—the stage of profound and fundamental restructuring of society, which is our present. The guarantee of that is, among other things, also the fact that it proceeds from historic experience, that it firmly leans on it in the struggle for the future.

Fojtik Addresses Aktiv on Propaganda

LD142300 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] A statewide ideological aktiv on the direction of propaganda this year, in particular in connection with restructuring the economic mechanism, was held in the Palace of Culture in Prague today.

The main report was delivered by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

He said that in Czechoslovak propaganda and political-educational activity we have to proceed above all from the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes at the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

At the 17th CPCZ Congress, the report is the most weighty party document. It both develops and defines in specific terms the conclusions of the congress in main directions. It also provides clear orientation for the party's work. It summarizes topical tasks in the ideological area in the closest possible connection with the party's work, linked with the implementation of the line of the 17th congress on the process of restructuring society.

Comrade Jan Fojtik said that the process of restructuring itself must be understood as a long-term stage of development. Its main component is inseparable from the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and the deepening of socialist democracy.

One of the most important tasks of our propaganda at present is the explanation of the meaning and importance of restructuring. Restructuring is the basis for starting the new development of the CPCZ's political and ideological work.

Comrade Jan Fojtik emphasized that restructuring is the continuation of the revolution in a Leninist sense when the power of the peoples is reinforced along with the socialist political and economic system and the corresponding spiritual values. It is a continuation of fundamental changes in the social position of man. The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee is based on the entire concept of restructuring as that of a complex of fundamental changes that must be carried out in the economic base and in the political and ideological superstructure in such a way so as to remove as thoroughly as possible, without any imperfection, obstacles and braking mechanisms that have long existed in these areas. It is also the concept that the advantages hidden in the socialist social system will particularly reveal themselves in the possibility of achieving centralized scientific and rational management in society and that the democratic activization of the people will be used as much as possible in the interest of individual citizens and also of society as a whole.

Comrade Fojtik went on to say that the uppermost task of our propaganda is to see that the concept of restructuring is imbedded in the awareness of the greatest possible number of people. Everybody, however, should also understand the consequences of his work and civic life in the context of this concept of restructuring. What matters is that by implementing restructuring, human activity should be of a higher quality. This activity on its own, however, is at the same time a condition of the success of restructuring. Buck-passing, opportunism, having a wait-and-see attitude now constitutes the greatest threat to restructuring.

We must do our utmost to make our people understand restructuring as their own personal affair, as an issue of revolutionary continuity with everything positive we have achieved in the revolutionary restructuring so far, as a firm elimination of our shortcomings, of everything that is on the path of the advancement of socialism in our country.

He went on to say that our ideological front, our entire propaganda must also fulfill its duties in this direction.

He went on to discuss the tasks of economic propaganda. He emphasized that along with the change of enterprises over to full economic accountability it is also necessary to create a new model of central management that would be in keeping with the needs of the intensification of the economy. He also stressed that the necessity for changing over to the new system of management and for explaining the concrete forms of this change, of the difficult battle to push it through the entire economy, must be the main content of economic propaganda.

Comrade Jan Fojtik went on to point out new demands that our time requires from senior managers. It is important that these people are politically and professionally mature and that they are acquainted not only with the needs of their sphere but also with the needs of the other sections of society as a whole. These must be people who are willing to take on responsibility, who are not afraid of risk, who are willing to fight for a cause that will bring a change for the better.

The propagation of experience from the work of economic and other managing cadres should take up a much greater space than it has so far in the media, in particular, on the television screen. The criticism of bureaucratism—which we have so far been making inconsistently and in too general terms and which naturally evokes undesirable reactions in the general public and also in the senior managers and aktiv functionaries—would have a much greater impact if our general public was better informed of the complexity and enormous challenges in the work of managing cadres, said Comrade Jan Fojtik. He added that we did not need to drive a wedge between the working people and managing cadres. In our media, there should be no place for material that is based on such voices and demagogic positions. We want to see the media as a real rostrum for the democratic exchange of views—the tool of democratization and its school. We are aware that they have extraordinary importance for involving working collectives and citizens in the process of restructuring. Without them, such wide participation would be unthinkable.

In our society, we have a firm base for democratization. It is formed by the National Front and the bodies of peoples' power. It is necessary to reinforce the prestige and authority of this political system, which is one of the greatest achievements of revolutionary changes in our society. This is an especially important task which also confronting our propaganda.

An open and essential word has also been said on these problems at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The work of the National Front organizations and bodies must be substantially revitalized. This must also be reflected in the media, said Comrade Jan Fojtik. We must be able to link our propaganda and political-education work with the practice of party policy and with the actual life of our people. Our aim is to make the people understand our policy, to identify with it, to support it, and to make ideological work into a really organic and lively component of the party's entire work. We must make it the core for winning people over to active participation in restructuring, to implementing our aim, to making people justifiably feel their share of responsibility for the future of our country, for the further development of socialism, said Comrade Jan Fojtik at today's statewide ideological activ at the Palace of Culture in Prague.

CPSL Central Committee Meets in Bratislava

Jakes, Lenart Attend Session

LD141827 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee is in session in Bratislava today. The session is attended by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary.

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, presented a presidium report that singled out the decisions by the Party Central Committee's seventh session as the most important Communist Party document since the 17th congress. The report notes that the decision seeks to elaborate and develop the congress line by comprehensively restructuring the economic mechanism and by deepening socialist democracy as well as workers' trust in the party's policy, and inspiring their initiative in boosting socialist society. It creates a creative atmosphere for successfully overcoming existing problems.

Further more, the report critiqued the results of the first 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in Slovakia, during which a rise in personal and public consumption was achieved and a number of measures were implemented

on social matters; wages and the people's buying power also increased. Despite this, a number of problems remain, making life unpleasant for our citizens. Above all, these are shortages in ranges of goods and quality of consumer goods and services.

The reason for the lower than planned national income—instead of the planned 4.5 percent growth, only slightly more than 3 percent growth was achieved last year—the report said, was the slow and inefficient progress in intensifying the national economy, and the nonfulfillment of investment construction. Only 9 out of 14 projects were put into test operation last year. Planned technical-economic parameters are not being achieved.

Foreign trade orders were, on the whole, fulfilled in Slovakia in the past 2 years, but efficiency was not achieved. Concerning the plan for this year, the report stressed the need to increase considerably the level of material utilization. The focus of attention must be on increasing quality of output and quality of goods.

It is also necessary to support more purposefully the advancement of those sections and programs linked with creative high valorization work, science results and people's capabilities, and that bring the most socioeconomic results. In science and technology it is necessary to increase the contribution and outcomes in the reproduction process, and to advance in the production of electronics components and integrated circuits.

We ought to consider as the source of scientific-technical development the entire creative potential of the national economy, including importing efficient technology, purchasing licences, making use of credit for exchanges, and becoming more greatly involved in the international division of labor, especially in CEMA. Also required is the development of scientific-technical and economic cooperation with nonsocialist countries, in particular, in the production of consumer goods, engineering, electronics, and in the production of foodstuff. There are also other possibilities for including the Czechoslovak economy in European regional projects that should contribute to tackling technical problems in top economic spheres.

The report also analyzed the task of speeding up work to secure drinking water supplies for people in the eastern Slovak region; noted shortcomings in comprehensive housing construction; noted tasks in the agriculture-food production complex; and emphasized the need to deal thoroughly with supplier-consumer relations and to protect the environment.

The report also said the results and experiences so far show the need to find new approaches to management. Attention must focus on well thought-out organization of management—enterprise and central. This must be based on the principle of federal organization of our state, which proved, over the last 20 years, its vitality and proved itself fully viable.

One of the key conditions of restructuring is democratization and activization of our entire political system, development of socialist self-management, fuller application of the people's creative forces and growth of their social activity and initiative. This brings new demands on the work of national committees, the National Front, and organizations associated in it, on the revolutionary trade union and on socialist youth union.

In the next part, the report analyzes the improvement of party work and how to increase its efficiency. Responsibility of Communists for the creation and implementation of party policy comes to the forefront. It is necessary to carry out everywhere an open policy, to ensure a wide degree of public knowledge and public control, and to achieve a state of affairs in which responsible senior managers gave an account of their work.

The reinforcement of the people's trust in the party demands that we require Communists, without compromise, to eliminate all displays of petit-bourgeois morality, and that we apply strict measures in keeping with the statutes of the party regardless of the office.

A topical task of ideological work is to confront offensively bourgeois anti-Czechoslovak propaganda.

In conclusion, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium report, delivered by Jozef Lenart, said it would be impossible to fulfill the tasks without action by us all. We must relentlessly assert the line of the 17th congress more consistently and more forcefully and, at the same time, creatively tackle tasks in the spirit of new demands, overcoming formalism, routine, and inertia and finding new approaches.

Highlights of Lenart Report

LD142308 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] A report of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee entitled "For the consistent implementation of the Line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress in the sense of the resolution of the 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee" was delivered by Comrade Jozef Lenart. We shall now acquaint you with some essential ideas from it:

The task of today's session of the CPSL Central Committee is established on the basis of the exacting and critical examination of the implementation of the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the resolution of the CPSL Congress, and the resolutions of the subsequent sessions of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee to work out the resolutions adopted at the 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee to suit the conditions of party's work in Slovakia; to set out, taking into account our concrete

conditions and the results achieved, a course of action to be taken by bodies and organizations of the CPSL with the aim of securing consistently the principal tasks facing the party and society as they are contained in the report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee delivered at the 7th session of the Central Committee and its resolutions, said Comrade Jozef Lenart.

The opening section of the report goes on to assess the results achieved to date in the intensification of the economy, in the utilization of scientific and technological progress, the improvement of the forms and methods of management, more effective stimulation of good quality work, and the activation of the human factor.

We can state, the report says, that during the past 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan we have achieved a number of positive results in the economy in Slovakia. Thanks to the endeavor and selflessness of the majority of the working people, we have managed during the year to eliminate shortfalls in the fulfillment of the plan, which came about in particular as a result of inclement weather especially in the building sector, and on the whole to master the tasks set out. Above all we appreciate the fact that many work collectives and management workers have successfully coped with the growing exactingness of the tasks. We assess positively the fact that during the past period end-product deliveries have increased annually against the plan. Thanks also to this, the requirements of our domestic market have been met better than during the preceding years by food products, and some new industrial goods have appeared.

When we assess in this way the domestic market trend, this does not mean that we are not aware of a number of problems which make the life of our citizens disagreeable and which are the subject of criticism. Shortcomings in the range and quality of industrial products are persisting and deepening in view of the growing purchasing power, which was manifested markedly also on the pre-Christmas market place where goods were missing such as winter clothing, children and ladies shoes, refrigerators and freezers, color televisions and other products, especially of the electrical engineering and mechanical engineering industries.

Not small problems exist in ensuring the quality, range, and ready availability of services purchased by the population, which shows that national committees, producer cooperatives, and state enterprises have not been reacting sufficiently to the needs of the population and have not been fulfilling the tasks arising from the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. Manufacturing and trade organizations and enterprises providing services must fully realize this reality, draw conclusions from it, and act in the spirit of restructuring and assess the results according to how requirements are met.

The use of the output on the domestic market and in the industrial production branches, capital investment and foreign trade sectors was influenced by a lower formation of the national income when against the planned 4.5-percent growth we achieved last year somewhat more than 3 percent while in 1976 we had achieved growth of 4.4 percent.

The cause of this situation over the last year is the slow and ineffective progress in intensifying the national economy. The investment construction plan is not being fulfilled. There has been a consistent lack of success in coping with the situation at certain construction projects of productive nature, on whose completion depends the creation of funds. In 1986, out of 18 planned key projects, only 10 were handed over to test runs; and in the last year, out of 14, only 9 have been preliminarily handed over. This is also one of the reasons why we did not achieve the planned increase in the creation of national income in the first 2 years.

The supplies for foreign trade represent an important area of the utilization of the end product. On the whole, we fulfilled them in Slovakia in the past 2 years. However, we did not cope with the tasks of efficiency. It is unavoidable that this situation be changed.

The next part of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium report delivered at today's Central Committee session deals with this years' tasks. The 1988 plan outlines the achievement of a 4.5 percent rise in national income in Slovakia, which means an increment of about 8 billion korunas. Further raising and improving the standard of living is directly dependent on the fulfillment of this demanding task. This requires substantial increase of the valorization process. In its interest, the substantial increase in the quality of production and the quality of goods have to be a focal point of our attention. The CPCZ Central Committee has repeatedly been stressing the unavoidability of reaching a turn in this sphere. This is required by life itself. Our progress and our competition with the world will depend on this. This is why we demand that the entire economic sphere, the senior management workers, consistently push through this urgent task.

The inspections of the People's Control Committee of the Slovak SR confirmed that the predominant part of low-quality production is linked to subjective causes, to the nonadherance to the norms, technological and work regimes, inertia, lack of discipline, and to disorder at work places. The causes of the low quality of production are also frequent disruptions in consumer-supplier relations and lack of reliability in the relations between producers in fulfilling mutual obligations. This situation exists not just between individual ministries, but also within the ministries and the production-economic units.

The report goes on to say that in the places where consistent attention is focused upon quality, good results are achieved. Apart from other places, this is the situation in Zeta Komarno, Chemko Strazske and in the Svit footwear producer. A consistent and purposeful approach is manifested in these enterprises to the utilization of science and technology, to the adherence to the work and technological discipline, and to the work with cadres. It is desirable to use and consistently implement their experience in other enterprises, too. The urgency of such conduct proceeds also from the premise that the 1988 plan puts higher demands on the growth of the high technical-economic standard products. Its 18.5 percent proportion from the commodity production, which was achieved last year, and the almost 20-percent proportion planned for this year is still a considerable distance from the targeted task set by the CPSL congress, which is the achievement of the proportion of 25 percent.

That is why we demand from the ministries, production economic units, enterprises, research institutes, organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, Socialist Union of Youth, the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technological Society, and others, to exert more effort toward their fulfillment. In line with this, it is inevitable that we focus on maximum valorization of both domestic and foreign raw materials.

The report goes on to draw attention to the pressing tasks in the more efficient valorization of agricultural products. From the important materials, it is necessary to more markedly increase the standards of utilization of crude oil, above all, by means of timely and high quality competition of the construction of equipment for cracking [krakovanie] heavy oil distilled products. The report of the CPSL Presidium draws attention to the fact that, for increasing technological, economic, and innovation standards of production, quality of production, its competition ability, and better valorization, we must more fully use, above all, scientific-technological development as a decisive intensification factor. This is the demand of restructuring of the economic mechanism.

Considerable large sums are also being designated in 1988 for the sphere of science and technology. It is necessary to use them purposefully for the further development of production, which will considerably help toward increasing the contributions and effects in the reproductive process. But there are still considerable tasks in the scientific-technical and developmental organizations from which practice has none or minimal effect. We are reiterating that achieving change is only possible through the demanding and stimulating influence of the economic mechanism in their activity, above all, by means of implementing financial autonomy.

We must critically say, on behalf of some production enterprises, that they do not demonstrate sufficient interest in the fuller utilization of science in production. The report goes on to note that the fulfillment of the above mentioned shortcomings requires an advance in production of the spare parts for electronics and integrated circuits with higher concentration. It stresses the significance of low-tonnage chemistry for structural changes, as well as for increasing efficiency in chemical production.

At the same time, it is an irreplaceable task of the chemical industry to improve the structure and quality and to react to the new demands in the production of synthetic fibers, plastics, rubber produce, agricultural and chemical produce, and wrappings, and products for the electrotechnical and automotive industries. In pharmacy, what is involved is the development of cephalosporin antibiotics with their utilization for curing infectious diseases.

The next part of the report devotes attention to the questions of involvement in the international divison of labor.

In particular, we will see to it that the intentions and tasks arising from talks between the highest representatives of ours and the Soviet Communist Party are applied in practice as soon as possible and further progress is made in replacing commercial forms of cooperation by deeper production sharing and specialization agreements on the basis of direct ties between enterprises and organizations. The present period raises the need to develop on a broader base scientific, technological, and economic relations with the nonsocialist countries. Here, too, one needs to proceed anew.

These qualitatively new forms of relations require in the field of the economic and legal mechanism to finalize a number of systems questions.

If we are to make more marked progress in intensification, this requires us to make progress in the realization of planned ventures in the capital investment sector. Particular attention must be devoted to such important construction projects as the nuclear power plant at Mochovce, the hydropower project at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, the production of non-ferrous (?alloys) at Hacava, and the modernization of the manufacture of aluminium in the Slovak National Uprising Works in Ziar and Hronom.

A very urgent task is to speed up the construction of projects providing drinking water to the population. An almost desperate situation has risen lately in this regard in a number of localities in Slovakia. These instances must be a lesson for us. For this reason we call on the Ministry of Forestry and Water Conservance of the Slovak SR to tackle, along with with the national committees, more consistently and with a greater sense of purpose, water supplies in all areas of Slovakia.

The CPSL Congress set out exacting tasks in comprehensive housing construction, in particular in the Slovak capital Bratislava. We cannot, however, be satisfied with the existing development because well-known problems

persist. This is why we remind national committees, enterprises, and organizations under the Ministry of Construction designers of the duty to cope more energetically and with greater flexibility with shortcomings in the selection of localities, in territorial planning and design preparation of flats, and associated capital investment projects. The reason we stress this is that the tasks in the second half of the current 5-year plan will be more demanding.

The report emphasizes, also in regard to agricultural and food complexes, the fulfillment of tasks. Area application of systems of growing crops must become an important factor of their implementation, which requires the creation of material, technological, and organizational prerequisites. In regard to livestock production, the issue facing us is to achieve a higher standard of the overall care for farm animals, and this by improving the quality of zoological, veterinary, and breeding work as well as by greater discipline and order at work places themselves.

In the interest of the overall growth of the effectiveness of agricutural and food production, it is necessary for the supplying sectors to produce and supply them products of new, qualitatively better properties and parameters, new packaging materials and chamicals.

In providing modern foodstuffs, the requirement for its structure and its quality is coming to the forefront. The implementation of biotechnologies, where demanding programs have been adopted, must be at the center of attention.

The next part of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium report delivered at today's Central Committee session by Comrade Jozef Lenart, deals with meeting the needs of our citizens, which is closely connected with the motivation of people's work both in the production and nonproduction spheres. This year we believe there will be further growth in the people's income, which must be covered with enough commodity funds in the required range and quality. This is why it is the duty of the production sector to respond in a more responsible and more flexible way to the requirements of retail trade organizations.

In addition, we demand that the Ministry of Trade and trading organizations complete the task of solving the supplies to the market and that they extend the reciprocal actions with the foreign trading organizations to make the market more colorful. One of the decisive prerequisites for the fulfillment of the tasks is a consistent solution of the supplier-consumer relations. Mutual economic contracts have not been concluded between many organizations. A decisive stop must be put to this situation at all levels. A decisive end must also be made to the situations when the approved contracts are not being fulfilled, which disturbs the continuity of production and the necessary trust between organizations.

These shortcomings are, with increasing frequency, manifesting themselves in the growth of above norm stocks, through which considerable sums are immobilized. We will be able to improve the meeting of demands of indigenous consumers and of foreign customers only in such a case when the dynamics of growth is consistently linked with the renewal and with the modernization of the production base. This is why it is unavoidable that we make each work place a serious analysis of the present situation and adopt measures to achieve the objectives, so that as little as possible in the way of open problems are left in meeting this year's plan.

Proceeding from the party's policy line, we emphasized at the CPSL Congress the necessity to grasp and to implement in practice a new view of the sphere of social development and of social policy, which represents an important factor of accelerating the intensification and which is an expression of humanitarian nature of our system. The report of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee notes the results achieved on social provisions for the benefit of families with children and new marriages. However, this makes the fulfillment of the set tasks regarding the growth of national income obligatory for us. Only in this way we will be able to achieve the planned intentions in further raising of social income, which is to grow in Slovakia by 1990 by almost 3 billion korunas. At issue is a more decisive solution also of such problems, as the accelerated construction of homes for the retired, of establishments for the chronically ill, establishments for the citizens and children with health problems, and the children's home, which represents our duty towards our fellow citizens.

With the knowledge that people and their benefit create the reason for all our efforts and that their health is the irreplaceable value, the party is dedicating and must dedicate intense attention to this entire sphere, beginning with working and living environment, via modern nourishment up to actual health care. The report goes on to give concrete examples and tasks in the building of health care equipment and the allocation of modern technology to them.

As to questions of the creation and protection of the living environment, the report critically points to the unused means and resources. For the first two years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, 518 million korunas remained unused in Slovakia for the solution of ecological problems in Slovakia. Numerous planned actions are being put off and there is danger that out of the resources designated for this 5-year plan, 700 million will not be used.

The report of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee then goes on to pay attention to the questions of management. Life is confirming the fact that a way out for achieving a principled turn in intensification of our national economy and fuller utilization of both qualitative factors of economic growth is implementing the

intentions in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee adopted a resolution on these questions and established the direction for further progress. It is essential for Communist Party organs and organizations to realize that the process of restructuring lays exceptionally high requirements on approaches toward making decisions and implementing tasks. The fact that the party is heading this process is, at the same time, a guarantee that restructuring will be implemented consistently, responsibly, so that advantages of socialism may be fully demonstrated. Particular attention is being attached to implementing the comprehensive experiment of increasing independence and responsibility of organizations for efficient development, just as consistent preparation of implementing the new economic mechanism in the agricultural food complex.

The organizations which entered and will enter the experiment must realize that in verifying the demanding elements of the economic mechanism, we are concerned both with gaining practical experience for the activity in the future conditions, just as with seeking optimal solutions everywhere, in particular in such cases where the influence of the effect of new economic instruments may create a complicated economic situation from the point of view of implementing financial autonomy.

In the preparation period, one must solve the problem of economic prosperity of the agricultural organizations, above all those which work in poor soil and climatic conditions. Stemming from the new mechanism, the central organs, like the previously mentioned organizations, are facing the task of finding an optimal structure of entrepreneurial activity which will guarantee effects, corresponding to financial autonomy.

An important task of the preparatory period is to provide for experimental tests in selected trade organizations and for a smooth transition of the entire public catering sector to the new management rules.

The next section of the report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium delivered by Comrade Jozef Lenart at today's session of the Central Committee is devoted to the questions of democratization and activation of the whole of our political system, the development of socialist self-administration and the application of creative forces of people in socialist construction. It stresses that the further development of socialist democracy and the restructuring of social relations bring new demands on the work of the National Front and social and interest-based organizations associated in it. Despite positive results, great reserves still appear in the work of the component parts forming the National Front, the tapping of which would enable greater activity and better quality in their work. Much formalism in organizing some events manifests itself in the work of the National Front bodies and in particular their apparatus. Bureaucratism requires a disproportionate amount of reports, information and statistical reports, which frequently replace live contacts with people. These and similar shortcomings must be overcome consistantly and an increasing broader scope must be created for the participation of citizens in management and administration of public affairs, the application of their interests, rights and dutues. State and economic authorities, enterprises and organizations must create appropriate conditions for this purpose.

The report devotes attention to the tasks facing trade unions, the Socialist Union of Youth, interest-based and social organizations associated in the National Front, and appreciates the contribution made by the Freedom Party and the Slovak Revival Party to the implementation of economic and political tasks in the believe that they will join fully also in the process of restructuring. It stresses the indispensable role played by National Committees in ensuring comprehensive social and economic development of territorial units and in meeting basic requirements and legitimate interests of people. They should make a much broader use of comments, ideas and suggestions of citizens, collectives of working people and social organizations. One must not forget that it is through the activity of the National Committees that methods of socialist self-administration and direct democracy ripen.

The final section of the report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium is dedicated to the questions of the work of party bodies and organizations. The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed that the successful realization of the strategical line set by the 17th congress—the acceleration of social and economic development of society—calls for the whole party, its bodies, apparatus, primary organizations and each Communist to work to the standards required by the given period.

The report pays a particular attention to the questions of raising the quality and effectiveness of ideological work. This can only be achieved by linking it more closely with life and by applying new forms and methods of exerting influence. This can be achieved only through its closer link with the life and through implementing new forms and methods of influence. The main task of ideological work is to raise its contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks of restructuring. The party organizations, the Communists and the officials have to approach the development of the dialogue with the working people with full responsibility. The understanding of truth, the perception of new things, the longing for activity and for self-assertion is borne out of a dialogue. It makes it possible for the working people to participate directly in the solving the tabled questions, to express their views, proposals and to get involved in polemics. At issue is respect for the views of the working people, recognition of their moods, bringing out their interests open, direct and sincere conversation with them. The dialogue stresses that the deepening of socialist democracy puts new demands to the mass and propaganda media. The development of a wide struggle aimed at overcoming

dogmatism and conservatism, which lead to fossilization of thinking and which cause the stagnation in the development of the theory and practice, represents an exceptionally topical task of all ideological and political-educational workers. Our present day decisive struggle against dogmatism and with the obsolete stereotype of thinking which is connected with it, does, however, in no way mean concessions to the right-wing opportunist views and theories. The experience shows that the Leninist creative approach to theoretical and practical problems is the best way of fighting them.

The conclusion of the report says: The successful fulfillment of the set task will not be possible without the active approach of the party bodies, organizations, Communists and all working people. The way in which socialism will advance in our country will depend on each of us.

Jakes Addresses CPSL Session

LD151020 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Report on speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ general secretary, delivered on 14 January at the CPSL Central Committee session in Bratislava]

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes addressed the session of the CPSL Central Committee. He said:

Allow me to greet you cordially on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, and on my own behalf, and to thank you for the support that was expressed to me by Slovakia at today's session, just like yesterday in Slovnaft. I would like to assure you that the CPCZ Central Committee will see to it that the unity and friendship of our fraternal peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks, may be strengthened further, just like the unity of the nationalities living in our country, so that the development of the two republics is safeguarded in the interest of strengthening Czechoslovakia's economic potential, speeding up our social and economic development, and increasing the peoples' living standards.

The federative arrangement of the state and party policy creates the necessary conditions for this. Our deliberations today, at which you are working out the conclusions of the seventh session of the Party's Central Committee, are taking place at an exceptionally significant time for further implementing the strategic guidelines of the 17th CPCZ Congress. We have entered the 3d year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and it is precisely the fulfillment of its tasks that considerably effects our overall balance, whether or not we manage to overcome a number of prevailing shortcomings and speed up the process of intensifying the national economy. At the same time it is inevitable that party organs and organizations, economic and state organs, management employees in enterprises and cooperatives, and the revolutionary trade union movement, the socialist union of youth, Czechoslovak scientific-technological society, and other National Front organizations and all the working people concentrate on safeguarding the restructuring of the economic mechanism, which is an prerequisite for increasing economic efficiency and, at present, a decisive component in restructuring all social life.

The course of the current session confirms that the CPSL Central Committee will actively contribute to restructuring, democratization, and speeding up society's social and economic development. I would like to praise the clear, factual, and inspiring report of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee, delivered by Comrade Lenart, which contains a detailed analysis of current results and specific tasks and paths in the interest of fulfilling the conclusions of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Slovakia.

The December session of the CPCZ Central Committee was, throughout the party and society, anticipated with great interest. This is natural, inasmuch as it analyzed important questions of further developing our society, questions that concern the broadest strata of working people. We discussed the course of implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, further worked out the principles of deepening socialist democracy and restructuring social life, and set out directions and ways for their implementation. Significant resolutions were adopted on comprehensive economic restructuring and on improving the quality of cadre work.

What is the main significance of the seventh session of the Party Central Committee? It is, above all, that it generalized the current experience of the work of the CPCZ Central Committee under conditions of restructuring; confirmed the validity and correctness of the strategic line of the 17th Congress, aimed at speeding up economic and social development; and developed this guideline further; and set out aims for the party's political organizational and ideological work, its leading role in the process of implementing social transformations. Its results, in the party and society, were well accepted, and the need for faster progress was emphasized.

The December session created a lot of room for growth of activity in the entire party and society. It is significant that we may approach this from the very beginning, in the working out and implementation stages, in a such a way that a significant step can be made toward social restructuring to further strengthen the party's authority. A necessary condition for implementing revolutionary social transformation, increasing jurisdiction and responsibility of enterprises for satisfying society's needs is the further speeding up of socialist democracy by means of the working peoples' participation in management and decisionmaking in all questions of social development. Just as in the USSR, the principle of more democracy, more socialism is valid in our country.

As you know, Milos Jakes said, I visited the USSR at the beginning of the week, on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, and I talked with Comrade Gorbachev and other leading Soviet representatives. Allow me

to use this opportunity to convey the comradely greetings of Comrade Gorbachev and other comrades to all the Communists and all the working people of Slovakia as well as to you, the members of the CPSL Central Committee. Our deliberations were comprehensive and open. They were conducted in an atmosphere full of unity and comradely understanding. We expressed the full support of our party and people to the policy of revolutionary and social transformations that the CPSU and the Soviet people are implementing, and in which we see the implementation of the revolutionary heritage of Great October and its leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

We have a vital interest in all-round cooperation with the USSR. Our talks created good prerequisites for it. They confirmed the full identity of views on international political questions. Great attention was paid to economic and scientific-technological cooperation, above all, between Czechoslovakia and the USSR, but also within the CEMA framework. We have entered a new stage of its development, whose characteristic features are all-round expansion of the division of labor, establishing direct links between enterprises and organizations, and creating new enterprises.

Comrade Gorbachev, on behalf of the CPSU and its leadership, unequivically supported the conclusions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session aimed at restructuring and democratization. He praised Czechoslovakia's contribution to the development of the socialist community, our active participation in the struggle for strengthening world peace and disarmament. I would like to stress in this connection that the harmony between our intentions and the support of the CPSU, its rich experience and inspiring knowledge, are creating a good basis and the best prerequisites for our party's further active progress in implementing the strategy of speeding up socioeconomic development and all-round social restructuring by means of democratization, Milos Jakes said. Together with the Soviet comrades and other fraternal parties, we are striving for all-round enrichment of the life of the people in the socialist society, for improvement of socialism, increasing its attractiveness and influence on the world's development. We are concerned with speeding social progress and strengthening peace.

The results of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session have become an important milestone in the restructuring of economic management. The documents adopted, in particular the resolutions on the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and the laws on socialist enterprise and cooperatives, confirmed and specified the revolutionary changes that will be implemented in the coming period in economic management. The main tasks of restructuring the economic mechanism are planned for 1988-1990. It is in our interest that restructuring not be unnecessarily delayed. On the contrary, we will seek possibilities to speed its implementation. In this interest we must pay great attention to enterprises and organizations that are experimentally verifying the principles of the economic mechanism.

Milos Jakes said further: This requires a lot of work and will not be easy. Our aim is for the Czechoslovak economy to enter the next 5-year plan with a complex set of economic instruments that will significantly increase its development and broadly stimulate and speed up scientific-technological progress, high efficiency, quality production, initiative, and the activity of labor collectives. This is inevitable if we are to intensify our economy.

As stems from the party Central Committee's resolution on the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, this does not involve only partial and small adjustments to economic instruments and methods, but truly radical changes that must be mutually interlinked. Naturally, this increases demand on the quality of our decisions, on the consistency and persistence of their implementation.

Systems measures in the economy must be accompanied by corresponding measures for the organization of the center, the manufacturing and technological base, in structural policy, in tackling factual problems facing our economy and effective measures aimed at strengthening its economic balance. We are conscious of the fact that every step forward will require overcoming a number of obstacles, manifestations of inertia and indifference, non-committal attitudes and mistrust.

The key measure of our endeavor must be a growth of effectiveness. The results of the national economy, which will better meet all-round social needs, will lead to an increased living standard. Important prerequisites for this will be created by a draft bill on social security, which envisages putting into effect as of 1 October fundamental measures to improve pensions levels, both awarded newly and those already being paid, by taking merits into account to a much wider extent than today, Milos Jakes stressed.

The discussion of the principle issues of restructuring and the mechanism of management for the economy at the 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee was linked closely to the problem of fulfilling the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The report by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and also the report delivered today critically examined the results achieved so far in the fulfillment of the basic aims of the economic and social development, and on this basis the most important tasks were set out on which attention must be concentrated in the remaining period of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

In the present period the key issue is the drafting and securing of the plan for 1988, its consistent fulfillment in terms of intensification right from the beginning of the

year, using all inputs to a maximal effect, making use of accessible resources and reserves, and promoting broadly the creative initiative of the working people.

Comrade Jakes went on to say: The seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee signified the culmination of the process in which the highest party bodies, with the broad participation of the public and on the basis of the utilization of the experience and comments made by territorial party bodies and primary organizations and the rich experience and knowledge acquired by Soviet communists and other fraternal parties, clarified and specified fundamental approaches to the questions of restructuring the economic mechanism and methods of tackling problems accompanying our economic and social development during the first 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The CPCZ Central Committee mapped out clear ways out of the current problems, drew up a comprehensive concept of the realization of revolutionary social transformations, and gave practical instruction for the conduct of all party bodies and organizations—each member and candidate member of the party. Now the issue is for party collectives at all levels to appropriate the conclusions reached by the 7th session, clarify their role in the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee, and determine a purposeful and rational course to implement them in the specific conditions of their activity.

The time factor is very significant for the final success of our intentions. Every delay in the implementation of the resolutions adopted will in turn delay their realization and lead to the slowing down of the pace of the implementation of sorely needed reforms. This is why it is a very urgent that a thorough preparation of party bodies and organizations—of all their members—for the consistant and resolute application of the line laid down take place prior to holding annual members' meetings and party conferences. The annual party meetings and conferences must then work out specific measures to ensure the tasks of the plan for 1988 and of the eighth 5-year plan as a whole, the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the entire public life in the locality where they function. It is necessary to give at them a truthful reply to whether the approaches the party bodies and organizations are applying correspond to the new requirements of the time. It is essential everywhere to examine with great responsibility what has proven itself and should be continued, and, on the contrary, what has become obsolete and therefore has to be changed, what measures need to be taken to achieve better results.

Cadre preparation of annual deliberations should be directed toward ensuring that truly the best Communists are elected into new committees and other bodies, cadres who possess informal authority and who think and act in a new way. It is apparent that one cannot approach in the old way the new tasks our society is having to tackle. For this reason we must speed up the process of positive changes in the style of party work.

We are also aware, Comrade Milos Jakes declared, that both life and practice will also require certain corrections of our intentions. The fundamental thing, however, is the fact that resolutions, as the supreme expression of the generalization of collective knowledge and common sense, are adopted and they therefore must be followed with a responsible and disciplined creative approach by each party body and organization and by each party member for their implementation. This is an enduringly valid principle of democratic centralism and internal party democracy; this is a prerequisite for our party's capability to mount actions and for the united and rapid surge ahead. Party bodies and organizations must direct their activity above all to where the party is indispensable, toward political and ideological functioning, the shaping of concepts, supervizing the implementation of resolutions, and working with cadres. This is the main thing. At the same time it is necessary to determine objectively the sequence of the social urgency of tasks and concentrate attention on eliminating the weakest spots in their implementation.

Despite all the complexity and exactingness of party work its purpose is unequivocal—the issue is to win systematically the trust and support of the working people and citizens. This cannot be achieved in any other way than standing face-to-face with the masses; evolving an open policy, broad public information, and supervision; and setting an example of the honesty of intentions and the militancy of actions.

The essense of the Leninist style of work is live and direct work with people and among people. Each instance of administration by injunction and of red tape, bureaucratic attitudes, and officialdom are alien to it. All this we have to bear in mind when we talk about restructuring in party's activity, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed. Changing the style of party work also calls for raising the effectiveness and quality of cadre policy to meet its tasks as formulated in the resolution adopted. We have to take care to ensure a high performance of cadres and a continuous intake of fresh forces to management positions. This applies to all party bodies and the other sectors of the life and work of our society.

There is a pressing need to ensure that senior positions are filled by the most active followers of social changes, competent and principled people who understand the demands of our time and act accordingly.

In the selection, education, and placement of cadres we must consider, next to their political and professional abilities, their moral features and character. Modesty, honesty, attention, a sensitive attitude toward people, and self-criticism are prerequisites for collective work; and selflessness is an indispensable characteristic trait

for all managerial workers and party officials in particular. To be at the head of restructuring means to be in the vanguard of the struggle against such negative phenomena in our society as corruption, unlawful enrichment, theft of socialist property, abuse of official position, violation of work discipline, drunkenness, and the like. Generally, there has been a great deal of talk about such negative phenomena. In specific instances, instead of adopting an attitude based on principles we have encountered on more than one occasion temporizing, maneuvering, silencing, and suppressing criticism. Conflicts between words and actions have unfavorable ideological, moral, and political consequences and generate mistrust not only in state and economic bodies but also in socialism in general. This we all must realize.

The prime task facing the party, its bodies and organizations, each Communist, is for this reason a consistent and uncompromising fight against conduct that is incompatible with the moral values of socialism. This concerns everyone, no matter what post he or she occupies. Nothing can be outside public supervision and justifiable criticism.

At the end of his speech at today's session of the CPSL Central Committee Comrade Milos Jakes said that this year we shall be marking a number of anniversaries in the history of our nations. It will be the 70th anniversary of the birth of the first independent state of Czechs and Slovaks, but also the 50th anniversary of its dismemberment and soon afterward its collapse on the basis of the shameful Munich agreement. Soon we shall be marking the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the reaction and the victory of the working people in February 1948, but we shall also recall that 20 years ago in 1968 we went through a serious crisis in the party and society.

It is useful to remind ourselves once again of the fundamental lesson of modern history, and that is that it is the Communist Party which has been the vanguard force in the struggle of the working people for social progress and national independence, and that the leading role of the party in society, its fidelity to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, close bonds with the people, and firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries on the principle of proletarian internationalism constitutes the basic condition of successful development.

Any retreat from these principles causes stagnation in our social development and can even lead to a social crisis and endanger the very essence of socialism. Of this we convinced ourselves during the crisis-ridden period 20 years ago, which has once again become in the Western media and also in political circles the subject of various speculations. Our standpoint—and the lessons we drew—is immutable. It was reiterated by the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee and as has arisen from our talks with Comrade Gorbachev. It is in full accord with the view of Soviet comrades.

Anyone who wants to join honestly in developing and strengthening socialism in our country has broad possibilities to involve himself and assert his abilities. We have always conducted ourselves in accordance with this principle and will continue to do so. It is necessary to utilize the support that people express with regard to the policy of the party and on this basis to develop the creative initiative of the working people. The coming annual membership meetings and party conferences should contribute to this.

We are also aware that in the improvement and implementation of the policy of the CPCZ we must make better use, in the work of its Central Committee, of the collective mind and the collective experience of the entire party, its regional bodies and organizations. A personal example and agreement between words and deeds are the best propaganda. Communists, party bodies and organizations must therefore be the moving force of restructuring; they must support all working people and citizens honestly try to improve work in individual sectors of the national economy and social life and are an example of courage, innovating spirit, and high responsibility toward society, said Comrade Milos Jakes.

The development of Slovakia during the period since February 1948 serves as an example of the superior features of socialism. The relations of our nations and nationalities have been reinforced by the federative state organization. In particular, after the 14th CPCZ Congress the Slovak SR made significant economic, social, and cultural progress. It is precisely today, in the conditions of the realization of social and economic acceleration and the restructuring of the society, that the further development and the more effective and intensive utilization of the potential of the Slovak economy leading to increasing its share in the formation of national income, is an inseparable part of reinforcing the strength of the entire CSSR. Analyses show that the Slovak SR possesses the necessary prerequisites to fulfill the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan as they have been set. For this it is necessary to stretch out and improve the organizational and directing work of the party, to stimulate in this direction the activity of the heads of the staff of sections of production-economic units and enterprises, and increase substantially the demands on their work. This, however, does not concern Slovakia only, but our entire country. At the same time we must mobilize working collecitves for the implementation of their tasks. We can attain this only by joint effort by the party bodies and organizations and the senior management in enterprises and plants.

We have defined clearly the demands for the quality of a leading official. What matters is to proceed from them consistently and implement them in practice. Therefore, we cannot allow the working colelctives to be led by indecisive people who waste their own strength and that of superior bodies by justifying difficulties and seeking arguments why this or that is not succesful. Likewise, we cannot use people who do not trust their own strength,

the strength of the collective which they lead, people who, under the burden of the demands of the new tasks and their novelty, become perplexed and call for making the tasks easier and for having their problems solved by a higher body. We also cannot use people who are uncritical, content with the given state of affairs, people who say that the situation is worse somewhere else. Such an attitude is not acceptable. To leave such cadres in responsible offices—this (?practically) means to undermine the process of restructuring which we have started and to keep alive the undergrowth that creates the passivity of people and their lack of interest in what happens in the society.

A managerial worker must be an example of activity, find ways for solving problems, and fight for the implementation of each task in the interest of securing the needs of the soceity, emphasized Comrade Milos Jakes. He continued:

We have great goals and therefore we have to make great demands on everybody on whose work their implementation depends. We must measure ourselves and compare our results only with those who are ahead of us, are the top in the world. Otherwise, we expose ourselves to the danger of giving in easily to self-satisfaction and stagnation. I am convinced that Communists in Slovakia will be faithful to their revolutionary traditions, they will work at keeping abreast with the standard of the time. Led by the CPSL Central Committee they will make a significant contribution to the realization of the strategy of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our country, social restructuring, and the deepening of socialist democracy.

Resolution Adopted

LD142338 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Dear listeners, you have listened to the substantial parts of the speech of Comrade Milos Jakes at today's session of the CPSL Central Committee

In a discussion, Comrade Frantisek Miseje took the floor. He said that the main prerequisite of the change over of economic organizations to entire economic accountability is to achieve the required standard of production profitability.

Comrade Jaromir Algayer concentrated on the problems of the activity of organizations working at national committees. He also spoke of topical tasks in other spheres of the West Slovak region's economy.

Comrade Frantisek Gesvantner acquainted those present with the experience from a 6-month application of the comprehensive experiment under the conditions of a Kosice enterprise [name indistinct].

Comrade Jan Skoda said that the efforts of the Soviet Communists in the process of restructuring society is inspiring.

The last speaker, Comrade Pavel Bolvansky, pointed out a number of open issues in connection with the change over of Central Slovak region public food services enterprises into self-financing.

At the end of the discussion during which 15 comrades took the floor, the CPSL Central Committee unanimously approved a resolution. In it, it fully supports the results of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The resolution goes on to say that the Slovak Communists are aware of the demanding character of today's time which requires a substantial increase in effort toward the implementation of the strategy of acceleration, and toward the implementation of the restructuring of the economic and social mechanism.

In the next part, the resolution positively evaluates the results achieved in the 2 years of this 5-year plan in the Slovak Socialist Republic economy. However, it also points to a number of shortcomings and problems that prevent faster advancement.

By its resolution, the CPSL obligates the party organizations, bodies, and all Communists in Slovakia to act consistently and efficiently in the implementation of the tasks that follow from restructuring, and to be highly responsible and firm in coping with the demanded changes.

The first task for all Communists is to fully transfer the content of the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session into the deliberations of annual membership meetings and party conferences. In order for this to happen, it is necessary to create an atmosphere of activity and to reinforce Communists' determination to implement demanding tasks.

The full text of the CPSL Central Committee resolution will be published by the daily party press tomorrow.

The CPSL Central Committee further approved the transfer of Comrade Stefan Bachar from the position of candidate to that of a member of the Central Committee and elected him as a member of Secretariat of the CPSL Central Committee. Comrade Jozef Kiss was elected into the same office. At the same time, it removed Comrade Ivan Knotek and Jan Gajdosik as members of the Central Committee.

Comrade Stefan Bachar was born in a workers' family on 20 October 1937 in Kosariska in the Senica District. After studying at the faculty of Philosophy at Commenius University, he worked as a teacher. From 1970 he worked as a political functionary. Since 1979, he has been a deputy director general of Czechoslovak radio

and the director of Czechoslovak radio in Slovakia. In 1987, he became editor-in-chief of the CPSL Central Committee daily PRAVDA. He has been a CPCZ member since 1957. In 1987 he was awarded the order of Labor.

Comrade Jozef Kiss was born on 28 April 1944 in Velke Kapusany in a family of agricultural workers. After studying at the Faculty of Philosophy he worked on a daily UJ SZO, at the Central Committee of Csemadok and at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCZ Central Committee. In 1987 he became the editor-in-chief of UJ SZO. He has been a member of the CPCZ since 1969.

The CPSL Central Committee endorsed a letter to Comrade Gustav Husak in which it appreciated his long years of activity in the highest party office and wished him the best of health and achievements in further work in the office of president of the CSSR and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. It also endorsed a letter of congratulations to Comrade Milos Jakes on his election to the office of general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Comrade Jozef Lenart spoke at the end of the session. He spoke about the objective character of factors that created the need for essential changes for securing further socioeconomic development. The 17th CPCZ Congress reacted to it with the adoption of the plan to speed up the program of socioeconomic development of the overall restructuring of economic and social life. In connection with this demanding stage it is exceptionally important to form social awareness in such a way as to make restructuring the affair of all working people. Therefore it is necessary to attain a unity of views of the party activ, of managing workers who must lead the search and the fight for everything progressive.

Our concept of the new mechanism, Comrade Jozef Lenart said in his wind up speech, is to ensure that it helps to tackle the main problems, and the creation of it must be understood as a process in which we are clarifying, testing on the basis of experiments and perfecting further the principles adopted so that they would be applied in an optimal form.

Comrade Jozef Lenart stressed that the course of intensive development is vitally inevitable for Czechoslovakia and within the framework of it for Slovakia. In essence we have exhausted the possibilities of extensive development. At the same time socialism possesses driving forces which we have not yet used sufficiently. For meeting the growing needs of our society, quality in the broadest sense of the word, constitutes a categoric requirement.

In forming up, elaborating and implementing the party's line we lean on the revolutionary experiences and approaches by Soviet Communists. The party's endeavor, Comrade Jozef Lenart went on to say, leans on the support of broad stratas of the working people, which must however be translated into concrete deeds and results. It is essential to make use of the enormous creative potential of skilled workers, innovators, research workers, the whole brain and intellectual potential of Slovakia in the interest of multiplying its contribution to the intensificaton of the combined Czechoslovak economy. At the same time the galvanization of party work is also desirable in the area of culture, art, enlightment, education with the aim of a broader development of man and higher quality of life in general.

To fulfill the tasks set out we have to create throughout our society a climate of creative activity so as to ensure that the creative forces of all classes, social groups and National Front organizations can assert themselves in the tide of social endeavor.

At the close Comrade Jozef Lenart voiced the conviction that the annual members meetings and conferences of the party will constitute an important step in the restructuring.

The meeting of the CPSL Central Committee ended with the singing of the Internationale.

Bilak on Reform to Bohemia Party Meeting
LD142346 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] The Central Bohemian regional committee of the party discussed in Celakovice today the working out the conclusions of the 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Vasil Bilak, presidium member and secretary of the Party Central Committee, said in the discussion that the results, achieved last year in the internal political and international spheres can be judged as good as a whole. He went on to stress that the current year must be a turning point in consistent implementation of all national economic tasks. The Communists and all our working people must exert every effort in their implementation and, above all, increase discipline.

Comrade Vasil Bilak also said the restructuring is a test of honest work. A significant role must now be played by well-prepared annual member meetings, district and regional conferences of the party.

Assessing international political development, he said that an important step on the path towards nuclear disarmament was the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on doing away with medium-range and short-range missiles. Comrade Vasil Bilak at the same time stressed that one cannot relent in safeguarding the defense ability of our state.

Stoph Meets USSR's Antonov, Delegation

LD131711 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jan (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on Wednesday received Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side of the joint GDR-USSR government commission, and other members of the USSR government delegation, which is in the GDR for the 41st meeting of the joint government commission.

The implementation of the agreements in principle between the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, Erich Honecker, and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, at their meeting last year was dealt with in the friendly talk.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that 1987 was characterized by numerous new initiatives and steps to deepen the cooperation in the fields of science, technology, and the economy. It was also necessary in 1988, on this basis, to deepen the mutually advantageous cooperation to effectively linking the scientific and production potentials of the GDR and the USSR.

Greatest attention was given to the accelerated development and application of key technologies and the introduction of the most advanced scientific and technological achievements into production.

Willi Stoph emphasized that the conclusions reached by the joint government commission at its current meeting, aimed at the further consistent realization of the agreements reached between the two party and government delegations in June 1987, were of great significance. This applied in particular to working out longer term prospects for cooperation and to developing direct relations between the combines and enterprises of the GDR and the associations and enterprises of the USSR.

The partners in the talks expressed firm belief that as a result of the heightened cooperation by the ministries, combines, associations, and enterprises concentrating on the rapid achievement of scientific and technological results in the development of products and technologies and on the creation and use of key technologies, an important contribution can be made to raising national economic performance and increasing efficiency.

Taking part in the meeting were members of the Soviet government delegation, Kirill Dyumayev, Yuriy Bespalov, Vladislav Kolesnikov, Genrikh Stroganov, Yuriy Koshin, and Oleg Rybakov. Present on the GDR side were members of the government delegation Gerhard Schuerer, Herbert Weiz, Guenther Wyschofsky, Felix Meier, and Peter Grabley. The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in the GDR, Vyacheslav Kochemasov, was present.

Joint Commission Issues Statement

LD131751 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 13 Jan 88

[GDR-USSR Cooperation To Be Expanded Further"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jan (ADN)—The GDR-USSR joint government commission has decided on measures for the elaboration of a long-term concept for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries and for coordination of the 1991-95 5-year plans. A press statement on the 41st meeting of the commission, which ended in Berlin today, says that the decisions serve the further working out and fixing of long-term cooperation prospects.

The joint work is intended to take comprehensively into account the requirements for the development and introduction of microelectronics, computer technology—including CAD/CAM solutions—biotechnology, new materials, and processing technologies. They are based on the bilateral program of cooperation in science, technology, and production to the year 2000, and on the branch program and accords agreed between ministries for the purpose of research and production cooperation.

The commission noted that both countries have taken measures for the fulfillment on time and in the right quality of their commitments resulting from the integrated program of scientific-technical progress of the CEMA countries to the year 2000. In a protocol to the government agreement on cooperation in the sphere of microelectronics, joint and specialized tasks for the development of new, highly integrated and ultra-integrated circuits and microcomputer systems were agreed on.

On the state of direct relations and commissions noted that more than 120 agreements containing fixed-term work programs for direct scientific-technical and production cooperation have been signed between combines and enterprises of the GDR and production associations and enterprises of the USSR. It was decided to prepare agreements for direct relations between further combines and production associations.

In an accord signed at the meeting, the responsible ministers of the two countries agreed on cooperation in the intensification of the manufacture of porcelain and stoneware crockery, especially through the introduction of new technological solutions. The chemical industry ministers set out the continuation of the long-standing, successful research cooperation in the field of high-pressure polyethylene and its copolymers. It provides for the continuation of joint work for the intensification of the polymer plant in Leuna and Novopolotsk.

The chairmen of the two sides of the joint government commission, Vice Premiers Gerhard Schuerer and Aleksey Antonov briefed themselves in the Robotron Combine in Dresden on cooperation in the sphere of computer technology. They discussed future tasks, in the development of new generations of computers and peripheral equipment, including that for CAD/CAM solutions.

FRG's Rau, Honecker Continue Meetings

Discuss Arms Control

LD141431 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1158 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jan (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State received Johannes Rau, Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia and SPD deputy chairman, at the Council of State Building today. Johannes Rau is in the GDR for the opening of the Joseph Beuys Exhibition in the gallery in Berlin Marstall. The meeting took place in an open and constructive atmosphere, characterized by mutual understanding.

The partners to the talks unreservedly agreed that the preservation of peace is the central task of our time, to which all efforts by responsible politicians should be directed. Erich Honecker said that the peace initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact and the work of all forces throughout the world that are interested in peace open up today a real chance for progress along the road to disarmament and detente.

Erich Honecker and Johannes Rau described the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan as important and of historic consequence. The treaty on the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles is a milestone on the road to a nuclear-weapons-free world and the first practical result of the realization that in the nuclear age more weapons do not mean more security. The treaty is proof that with a sense of reality and readiness for compromise difficult international issues, too, can be resolved. These must have an exemplary effect for other problems. The greatest possible gain for peace must be drawn from the changed situation. Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR would strictly fulfill all its commitments. It assumed that this would also be the case with the FRG. Now it must be ensured that the treaty goes into effect as soon as possible.

Both men stressed the need for this first step to be followed by others, for consistent progress along the road to disarmament, but above all, however, to prevent the elimination of the medium-range missiles being compensated for by new arms buildup measures in another sphere, as some advocates of nuclear deterrence and the policy of military strength are demanding. Erich Honecker and Johannes Rau agreed that a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, with strict observance of the ABM treaty, and a ban on chemical weapons and nuclear tests must now be at the center of attention.

Erich Honecker pointed to the need to reduce and eventually eliminate the remaining tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and to set the negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals in motion. Asymmetries must be eliminated through disarmament and not through a new arms buildup in some other sphere. The GDR favors progressing from zero option to zero option.

In this connection Erich Honecker and Johannes Rau reaffirmed the topicality of the joint SED-SPD initiatives for the creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in Europe, whose realization could considerably improve the security policy situation in Europe. They expressed the hope that the FRG Government would reconsider its attitude toward this proposal and also to the proposal for the establishment of a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe.

Erich Honecker noted that the shaping of relations between the two German states is an important part of the struggle for security and detente in Europe. Each of the two German states must do justice to its particular responsibility for peace. The GDR and the FRG must make their active contribution to the building and expansion of the Common European home. This includes recognition of the realities in Europe and the implementation of the European system of treaties.

Johannes Rau emphasized the importance and the results of Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG, which was an outstanding contribution to dialogue and good-neighborly cooperation.

Erich Honecker noted that during the visit the desire for understanding and cooperation had dominated, and this must be adhered to. As stated in the communique on the visit, it is important to reaffirm the responsibility of both German states to do their utmost to ensure that never again war, but only peace, emanates from German soil. The GDR will continue its policy vis-a-vis the FRG that is aimed at safeguarding peace and at practical cooperation. Progress in relations naturally depends on a constructive atmosphere, noninterference, and respect for mutual interests.

The two partners to the talks praised the contacts between the GDR and north Rhine-Westphalia. They are developing positively and for mutual benefit, especially in the economic and cultural spheres. They continue to enjoy good future prospects.

Taking part in the talks were: State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, chief of the Chancery of the chairman of the Council of State; Guenter Rettner, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and director of the International Politics and economics department of

the SED Central Committee; and Karl Seidel, department director in the Foreign Ministry. Johannes Rau was accompanied by Guenther Einert, North Rhine-Westphalian minister for federal affairs; Prof Dr Friedhelm Farthmann, chairman of the SPD Group in the state parliament; and State Secretary Dr Klaus-Dieter Leister, head of the State Chancellor of North Rhine-Westphalia. Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG's permanent mission, was also present.

Rau Comments on Talks

LD141539 Hamburg DPA in German 1332 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—North Rhine-Westphalian Minister-President Johannes Rau (SPD) has met GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker in East Berlin on Thursday. The talk centered on the development of German-German relations and problems of environmental technology connected with the denitrogenizing and desulphurizing of lignite. It has been agreed that experts from enterprises and authorities in North Rhine-Westphalia will hold talks in the GDR this year on questions relating to keeping the air clean, Rau said following the 90-minute meeting.

Rau, who went to East Berlin for the opening of an exhibition involving the works of artist Joseph Beuys, also announced that in mid-March he will for the first time visit the Leipzig spring fair and that he will again meet Honecker there. Rau said that a North Rhine-Westphalian cultural exhibition is planned for Leipzig in the autumn of 1989 or the beginning of 1990. This should include not only art but also the theater and ballet. This exhibition was conceived as a response to the GDR involvement in the accents festival in Duisberg in May last year.

On questions relating to travel, Rau recalled the marked increase in visits to the FRG by GDR citizens last year. He had no indications that a reduction was intended in this area. However, in the longer term the economic possibilities connected with a large increase in visits must be included in considerations, he said in a apparent reference to the GDR's hard currency problems.

In conversations with Honecker, he also touched on the question of further town-twinnings, for which there is still a demand on the West German side. Rau expressed the wish of Leverkusen and Dortmund for partner towns in the GDR. Rau went on to say that in the talk with Honecker, which was conducted in an "extraordinarily open and friendly atmosphere," possible further steps in the disarmament process following the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the double zero option on medium-range missiles was discussed. [passage omitted quoting ADN]

ADN Reports Rau News Conference

LD141607 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1425 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jan (ADN)—At a news conference at the FRG permanent mission in Berlin on Thursday, Johannes Rau [minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia] said his talk with Erich Honecker had gone in an extremely open and friendly atmosphere.

The meeting was not, after all, the first. "We have already met frequently, the last occasion being in September during the visit by the general secretary to the FRG. We have arranged to meet at the Leipzig Fair, which I will be attending for the first time."

The central theme of the talk was disarmament questions. They discussed what will happen after the medium-range treaty is fulfilled, which steps should then be taken, and how to make further progress in the process of necessary disarmament. They addressed intra-German issues and what had been agreed to in the joint communique of September, and then discussed progress made in separate areas. In this, questions connected with technological, scientific, and economic cooperation were dealt with.

Also important in the talks were questions on environmental technology, for example, cooperation in the removal of nitrogen and desulphurization of lignite. North Rhine-Westphalia has special experiences and expertise in this area that it would like to make available. Talks on this will be continued.

The talks then dealt with cultural exchanges, not least because the purpose of his visit was the Beuys exhibition in Berlin, the minister-president added. One of the projects discussed was an exhibition to be staged by North Rhine-Westphalia in the GDR in the autumn of 1989 or the spring of 1990. The preparations are well under way.

Since he is also SPD deputy chairman, they dealt with the paper on the battle of ideologies formulated last year by the SPD basic values commission and the Academy of Social Sciences in the SED Central Committee. In addition, they discussed travel, town-twinning agreements, sports exchanges, and anything which has come up since September.

In answer to relevant questions, Johannes Rau pointed out that Erich Honecker had also explained his latest disarmament initiative. For his part, he explained the various standpoints that exist on the issue of disarmament in the FRG. In this connection, he referred to the initiatives drafted by the SPD and SED on the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapon-free zone in central Europe. He underlined the SPD's

desire to help ensure that the "first, and I believe, an exciting, step" in real arms reduction with inspections agreed between the Soviet Union and the United States will be followed by others.

Police Arrest 1 After 'Incident'

LD141716 Hamburg DPA in German 1517 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—There was an incident this afternoon, during the visit by Johannes Rau, the prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, in East Berlin. While Rau was being interviewed by a First German Television [ARD] team in front of the State Council building, after his talk with GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker, a man threw papers at the prime minister, shouting that he wanted to leave the country. This was reported by ARD correspondent Hans-Juergen Boerner, who filmed the incident. The man, about 23 years old, was then seized by state security service and police personnel. Rau had gone over to the man and spoken with him briefly. The man was then led away by police.

Steglich Comments on CSCE Talks

LD141540 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1249 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jan (Adn)—The GDR is going into the fifth round of the CSCE review meeting in Vienna, which begins on 22 January, with the firm intention of contributing to a breakthrough in the parallel solution of all problems and of achieving the completion of the final document. This was stated at a press conference in Berlin today by Ambassador Peter Steglich, head of the GDR delegation at the Vienna CSCE review meeting.

The representatives of the 35 European states and of the United States and Canada have all expressed the hope that the negotiations started in Vienna in November 1986 would lead to a "substantive and comprehensive" final document. However, the draft elaborated so far does not yet correspond to requirements and to encouraging international trends. So far, 160 suggestions have been submitted for the editorial work in which there is more substance for agreement than is reflected in the text agreed so far.

The problem of military security, to which the GDR and its allies and also the majority of the other states, attach the greatest importance, is ripe for agreement. There is agreement in principle, Ambassador Steglich said, to continue the process begun at the Stockholm Conference and security-building measures in the military sphere at a second stage.

In the talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states on a mandate for future negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces and arms in Europe, agreement has been reached in the main about the goals of the negotiations. Still open, among other things, is which weapons systems they will encompass. The GDR is of the opinion that in these negotiations systems with dual application, such as short-range missiles up to a range of 500 km, must also be taken into account. The effective steps for arms limitation and disarmament, including short-range nuclear missiles, proposed in the letter from Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, are like the proposals for nuclear and chemical weapons-free corridors in central Europe, valuable for the CSCE process.

Among the sections of text ready for adoption are also the questions on the fight against terrorism, the peaceful settlement of disputes, economic cooperation, environmental protection, and other topics. The GDR is prepared to make, in the document, important statements on human rights in their reciprocal dependency. Here, too, the editorial work is going well, but excessive demands by some states must not hinder the elaboration of the whole document. Realism and reason are now required in order to actually achieve a breakthrough in Vienna.

Benyi Interviewed on Foreign Policy

AU141826 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG No 2
8 January 88 p 9

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi by Ferenc Varnai: "Driving Force and Background—Foreign Policy and Economy—With Modern Means"; date and place not given]

[Text] The economic situation in Hungary has prompted important changes in the activity of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. Our correspondent asked Dr Jozsef Benyi about these changes.

Things That Change and Things That Do Not Change [subhead]

[Varnai] Has the Foreign Ministry instituted changes in its foreign policy and diplomatic activity in order to assist the country in its difficult economic situation?

[Benyi] There is no change in the principles of our foreign policy. Our daily practice, of course, is constantly trying to adjust to domestic and foreign conditions; today, for example to the reality of a temporarily deteriorating economic situation. Following open internal debates, today we have a new government work program that promises economic stabilization and which opens the way toward a social and economic reorganization that cannot be delayed any further.

For considerably different reasons, our friends and partners generally welcomed all this, but in their reactions, we feel the anxious concern of many of our friends and the cautious confidence of others. Such signals coming from outside are important for us because the implementation of domestic intentions depends on foreign conditions.

Although the tensions deriving from confrontation and armed conflicts are present in the international political and economic environment surrounding us, our foreign policy scope is, nevertheless, more favorable than previously: One can increasingly feel the favorable world political effects of the changes underway in the Soviet Union, and this should encourage other countries for action.

We have not just been waiting for a better world so far, either, but we have tried to promote the development of such a world. In the international dialogue, we strive to strengthen the political will of all our partners to achieve agreements and cooperation.

Hungary does not have the conditions necessary for conducting a global policy. We can only modestly influence the processes that occur in distant areas. As part of the socialist community we are doing our utmost for the success of joint efforts. However, our influence seems to be more considerable in the framework of our bilateral relations, and we attain the advantages that serve our country mainly from bilateral relations. The importance of these relations is increasing for us: These relations become good examples, and—particularly if they increase in extent—these relations can restore the confidence that is so much in need today in the relations between countries of different social orders. It is also true that, as a result of our country's size and economic background, it has never been easy to assert our interests on the international arena because, as a matter of course—for example, in the European area where we have more extensive relations—we are dealing with countries the majority of which are better off than we are.

The series of negotiations that Hungary conducted with foreign countries in 1987 reflect the prestige of our foreign policy. Janos Kadar held talks with Mikhail Gorbachev on several occasions; Janos Kadar also met with Chinese leaders; consultations with leaders of the other socialist countries continued in 1987; Janos Kadar paid an official visit to two capitalist countries and, at home, received a series of foreign dignitaries. There were six meetings between heads of state. Our premier held talks with his foreign counterparts on 11 occasions. Our ministers held talks abroad on 34 occasions and received their partners in Budapest on 42 occasions.

There are still many opportunities in our foreign relations. When we examine the political and economic sources of our cooperation with our partners, the talks always reveal new possibilities.

There are too many political and trade policy obstacles hindering world trade today, and we are doing our utmost to reduce these obstacles. We are doing this aware of the fact that it is impossible to represent foreign policy and foreign economic interests separated from each other, and there is need for the greatest harmony and collaboration possible in this field both at home and abroad. With its foreign knowledge and its mediatory steps, the Foreign Ministry is always ready to help connect domestic needs with foreign possibilities.

As Seen by the Outside World [subhead]

[Varnai] Following our more difficult economic situation, how does the outside world evaluate Hungary?

[Benyi] Our international evaluation is still good, but not so generally and unanimously positive as some years ago. There are many well-meaning criticizing opinions, but malicious speculations are on the increase. The outside world is interested in our problems, and we hear or read nowadays more about these problems than about our results. However, the fact that we have always been speaking openly about ourselves continues to be our political asset. We have earned great international prestige with our original domestic solutions and our openness. The outside world is now expecting us to really follow the road we had chosen for ourselves; our friends are interested in this and this is expected from us by our

partners that, through their close economic and financial relations with us, are also following the development of our situation with attention. Western mass media have been particularly interested in several high-level meetings and in the National Assembly sessions. The opinions can be summed up as follows: Along with voices praising confidence, optimism, and the firmness of the Hungarian leadership, analyses reflecting reserves and doubts have increased. Important newspapers quoted Premier Karoly Grosz' words on the need to implement the next stage of the economic reform without compromises. The fact that we try to help our difficult situation by consistently applying the reform policy has gained international appreciation.

[Varnai] What kind of difficulties do the limitations imposed by the NATO countries on the socialist countries, the so-called COCOM list, cause? What can Hungarian diplomacy do in this field?

[Benyi] The level of technology has become a political issue. The common intention of the capitalist countries is to make use of their present advantage over the socialist countries. With the help of an efficient international system, the United States prevents the arrival of top-level technology in the socialist countries. We have to count on the fact the artificial limitations imposed on international trade will be in force for a long time. The double utilization of top-level technology—for civilian and military purposes—is increasing, and, therefore, the circle of COCOM bans is uncertain. This situation makes the international trade uncertain, and producers and consumers are unable to formulate long-term plans. This causes damage to them too. Negotiations are our only foreign policy possibility. We are helping in every way to bring results.

The Lessons of Our Age [subhead]

[Varnai] Would you tell us an example of an up-to-date and new type of foreign activity?

[Benyi] One of the lessons of our age is that foreign policy and developed technology cannot be separated from each other. I would like to stress, however, that there is a qualitative difference between the import of high-technology, that is the technological transfer, and technological-scientific cooperation. The former means in fact the purchase of goods, the latter requires joint activity lasting for years in order to jointly create top-quality products or to advance science with joint research activity.

We often say that, if we want to fulfill the economic requirements, we must accelerate—in reality and not only in words—the technological-scientific progress. This, because we have been lagging behind, not only countries that were industrialized long ago, but also behind newly industrialized countries in Southeast Asia. Those countries that have quickly adjusted to the challenges of the period, have advanced economically because technological development is the driving force behind the economy. We cannot avoid the comparison of our products on the level of international competition either.

Hungary has always been a so-called follower, and we have always purchased the top-level technology from abroad. We need to do that again today. We are unable to become technologically and scientifically self-sufficient. Therefore, developing our scientific and technological relations is a major task. Scientific and technological foreign relations, however, are interwoven with political interests, and there is a particularly large number of obstacles in this field in the contacts between countries of different social order. Foreign policy can play an important role in eliminating these obstacles, all the more so because, in the West, the foreign ministries are in charge of the technological and scientific foreign relations. Other important tasks facing our ministry are to receive information, by means of our embassies and the diplomatic corps accredited in Budapest, about the possibilities of cooperation; direct negotiations held with state delegations; sign agreements, work programs, and other documents; participate in the internal government coordination projects, and so on. This work is relatively new and requires adjustment to the international realities.

We made great efforts in the past years to extend these types of relations. We have some kind of cooperation with 76 countries, but, we have to admit that there are many countries among them where we draw no profits. In addition to cooperation in the form of intergovernmental agreements, we hold technological and scientific contacts in the form of academic relations, agreements between institutions, enterprise cooperation, individual activities, and scholarships. We are striving to increase the number of our partners who are ready for real cooperation. The relations based on a domestic economic background make sure that they adjust to the domestic development priorities.

Easing the Beliefs [subhead]

[Varnai] What are we striving for, after all?

[Benyi] We are striving for mutual advantages. The recent years have already proven to our partners that, if they make use of the achievements of the Hungarian technology for common goals, that means joint intellectual investment. This is slowly eliminating the Western belief that such cooperation would lead us to unilateral advantages.

Medgyessy To Head New Economic Committee

LD141848 Budapest MTI in English
1639 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI)—In its Thursday session the Hungarian Council of Ministers heard a report by the president of the National Planning Office on the country's economic development last year, and set up a Committee of Economic Planning.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Council of Ministers of the 42nd UN General Assembly Session.

Following the session Rezso Banyasz, spokesman for the government, informed the press on some issues including the following ones:

UN General Assembly—Hungarian Participation [subhead]

According to the Hungarian Government the approach between the Soviet Union and the United States which was also manifest in concrete agreements had a favourable influence on the 42nd UN General Assembly session that started last September. The Hungarian delegation represented the country's policy in compliance with the guidelines adopted by the government. The speech delivered by the Hungarian foreign minister in the general debate met with favourable response. The contributions of the state secretary of foreign affairs which included concrete proposals were also received favourably. In the period of the general debate the head of the Hungarian diplomacy held 23 foreign ministerial talks. The Hungarian delegates expounded the position of the country in almost 40 contributions, and were co-authors to 25 draft proposals.

The Committee of Economic Planning [subhead]

The committee of Economic Planning set up instead of three former economic committees is to operate as an economic policy cabinet, as the government mainly wishes to deal with social, political and economic policy issues of strategic importance. They wish to increase the decision-making independence and responsibility of the competent ministers. The members of the new government Committee that also serves to ease the duties of the government are the ministers of industry, trade, agriculture and food, finance, and the president of the national planning office. The Committee will take over only a part of the tasks of the former three economic government committees. The other part will be the tasks of the competent members of the government. The committee will not discuss proposals that can be decided on in the scope of authority of ministers. The Committee is to prepare the comprehensive decisions of the Council of Ministers covering the entire economy, for example, the national economic plans, the state budget. It is to take a stand on the major conceptions prepared in the national economic planning work, on the development tendencies that require governmental decision, and on investment proposals. The president of the Committee is Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy.

Evaluation of 1987 [subhead]

The government evaluated the development of national economy in 1987 only partially and, in many respects, on the basis of estimated data only. It stated that the tendencies deteriorating the balance had a less marked effect on the economy. There was an upswing in both production and enterprise investment. The payments balance of convertible-accounting goods turnover is better than in 1986, due to the development of tourism and the decreasing deficit of the foreign trade balance. The improvement of the balance of convertible-accounting goods turnover is, however, less than calculated. Exports developed approximately on the planned level, however, imports increased faster than envisaged. A fundamental interest this year is, alongside strict austerity with imports, to increase exports faster than planned. Accelerating the transformation of the production pattern is a pressing task.

1988 Trade Protocol Signed With GDR

LD142034 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, January 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian-GDR goods turnover protocol for 1988 was signed Thursday in Berlin. The document envisages an increase of approximately four per cent in reciprocal deliveries, and the value of the planned goods turnover is to stand at 1,930 million roubles.

The share of machines and installations surpasses 60 per cent in the goods deliveries of both countries. In accordance with the long-term agreement, reciprocal deliveries of raw and basic materials are to continue.

The protocol includes the deliveries arising from bilateral and many-sided specialization and production cooperation, the share of which in goods turnover is some 27 per cent.

Economic Results for January-November 1987

AU131257 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Jan 88 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Economic Table of Indexes"]

[Excerpt] January-November 1987 (Data as Percentage of Performance During the Same Period Last Year)

Industrial State and Cooperative Enterprises	
Volume of gross production:	
Industry Total	103.7
within this: metallurgy	101.9
machine industry	103.1
chemical industry	107.3
building material industry	106.4
light industry	102.6
food industry	103.4
Industry, excluding food industry	103.8
Number of employees	97.6
Gross industrial product per employee	106.3
Average monthly wages per employee	108.0
Construction Sector of the Building Industry	
Production of the building industry	104.8
Number of employees	98.5
Average monthly wages per employee	109.9
Foreign Trade (at current prices)	

Industrial State and Cooperative Enterprises	
Imports	103.5
Ruble accounts	96.9
Non-ruble accounts	109.8
Exports	106.8
Ruble accounts	99.5
Non-ruble accounts	114.7
Retail Trade Turnover (at current prices)	112.4
within this: Food, beverages, and tobacco	108.5
Clothing	112.3
Miscellaneous industrial articles	115.7
Procurement	99.2
within this: Plant products	94.2
Live animals	103.9
Animal products	100.7
Achievement of Transportation Enterprises	
Goods delivery (based on goods-tonnage/km)	103.8
Long-distance transportation of passengers (based on passenger km)	99.7
Population Revenues from Central Sources	109.3
Consumer Price Index	108.5

Official on Leaders' Employment Status

AU141435 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview with Elemer Kiss, deputy minister and deputy chairman of the Government Secretariat, by Andras Tabori:"Labor Relations of a Minister—Interview on the Ministers' Salaries and Responsibilities in complying with Discipline, the special-purpose K-Telephone, And Ministers' Cars"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] On the last working day of 1987 the government adopted a resolution settling the work relations of state officials, which came into effect on 1 January. The draft resolution lies in front of us, and Elemer Kiss is briefing us on what motivated it and its background. [passage omitted]

[Tabori] The responsibility of state officials in complying with discipline merits special attention, because public opinion knows very little about the fact that a minister, a member of the government, has legal responsibilities in complying with labor discipline [munkajogi fegyelmi felelosseg] in addition to his social and political responsibilities. How does the new regulation formulate this responsibility?

[Kiss] The resolution in fact, regulates the possibilities of calling people to account on the basis of a law from 1973. As is known, the ministers' political responsibilities and their responsibility to observe labor laws and the criminal law are equally valid. If the need to call someone to account arises, the new regulation basically determines the framework of the procedure and states who can initiate it, that is, who can order that such a procedure be started. In other words, the premier can submit a suggestion to the Council of Ministers on initiating disciplinary procedure against one of the ministers. In this case, the Council of Ministers will nominate a disciplinary committee from among its own members and will request the cooperation of the Chief Prosecutor. This will not be a standing disciplinary committee and its composition will be determined according to every individual case, in order to establish the most adequate committee. This committee will be able to impose disciplinary punishment, but only in the form of light or severe reprimands. If there are grounds for stricter disciplinary punishment, the case should be transferred to the Presidential Council or the National Assembly because in this case it might be necessary to recall the minister, or—we can say—dismiss him on disciplinary grounds; but in the case of an elected official this act is called recalling him.

[Tabori] I think that this regulation reflects both the state official's compulsory political responsibility to the National Assembly, and his mandatory responsibility to observe labor laws, a responsibility he owes to his employer.

[Kiss] In part, this is indeed reflected in the regulation; in part it reflects the fact that such labor relations can be terminated only by the National Assembly, or by the Presidential Council during the recess between two sessions of the National Assembly. Speaking of disciplinary affairs, it would be expedient to note that we could say that the leaders have unique rights in that they are able to seek justice for themselves to a lesser extent than others, because they cannot go to the courts or appeal to them if they think their affairs have been inadequately judged.

[Tabori] Does the new legal measure deal with the responsibility of the chairman of the Council of Ministers in complying with discipline?

[Kiss] This resolution cannot deal with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, because he plays a prominent role in the government and, therefore, it would hardly be justified and even less constitutional if the Council of Ministers decided on the affairs of its chairman. This resolution, therefore, also contains a suggestion to submit the proposal on settling the employer's rights [munkaltatoi jogositvanyok] of to the chairman of the Council of Ministers to the Presidential Council of the People's Republic in the near future. [passage omitted]

Law Amended on Official Corruption, Drug Use

AU141027 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET Supplement in Hungarian 7 Jan 88 p 4

[Report by Istvan Javorniczky: "Bail, Public Utility Work, Probation—The Practice of Prison-Oriented Rulings Should Be Decreased"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Compulsory Treatment for Drug Addicts [subhead]

Although the containment of corruption is not a primary task of criminal law, the regulations concerning corruption have been supplemented by two qualifying circumstances, namely when various acts of bribery are committed professionally or within the framework of criminal associations. As of 1 January, a request made by a person employed by a state organ or institution or by a public organ for benefits in return for doing his job will constitute a criminal offense.

The extension of compulsory treatment to drug abusers and consumers of narcotic substances has been added to the code as a new decree. At present, only imprisoned drug abusers had to undergo such treatment. (It will not be possible to equip the Nagyfa institution for treating alcoholics for treatment of drug abusers in the near future.) Even the conditions for curing prison inmates do not yet exist, so this regulation will come into effect in a few months' time and not on 1 January.

Economic Prospest for 1988 Assessed

AU141436 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jan 88 p 1

[Editorial Article by Pal Bokor: "The Grey Guards"]

[Text] It is customary to complain about external conditions. For 15 years our complaints have sometimes had sufficient and sometimes insufficient cause. Now, at the beginning of the new year, objectivity and the new situation require us to state calmly but decisively that our foreign policy and foreign trade conditions are improving.

This does not mean that the fluctuations of the capitalist market cannot cause us domestic damage, or that our trade partners have become soft-hearted. Let us admit, however, that the development of the really important foreign conditions is encouraging. Let us start immediately with one of the major conditions, because in this way our examination will be sincere: We can now count on very attentive interest from Moscow, a place where people have often followed socialist attempts to implement reforms suspiciously. Now they, too, are looking for adequate roads toward reform and new economic and political solutions. The new content of our partnership, which was recently pointed out by Comrade Grosz, is a real source of additional power for us, sometimes also in the technical sense of the word.

Our relations with our other neighbors are also as good, or almost as good, as our relations with the Soviet Union. Regrettable and unhealthy differences of opinion that are far from being insoluble have perhaps accumulated only in our relations with Romania.

From the Hungarian point of view, the Washington summit and the gestures of reconciliation between the Soviet Union and the PRC, among other things, mean that each big power regards Hungarian development as a phenomenon that is favorable to itself and one that perhaps merits support. Then, and this is mainly to the credit of Hungarian diplomacy, we have learned to maintain unambiguous, profitable and mainly civilized relations, that did not offend nations or religions, with divergent countries—that in many cases are in confrontation with each other—and with groups of countries, for example, with all the main countries in the Middle East.

There are indications that the price of mineral oil, which is the most important raw material that we import, will drop to a lower level than at present. In the Soviet Union increased production has resumed. In the meantime, our most profitable "export article," tourism, has increased by 42 percent within 1 year. If all is well, this signifies the beginning and not the end of something. Of course, in order to continue this process a chain of modern motels at the least is immediately required, because it is not permissible that the momentum of the developing industrial branches should be blocked by the "grey guards", the hordes of people that prepare regulations, approve documents, and supply exaggerated political assurances [politikai onagyonbiztositok], people to whom we "owe" our present housing conditions, our telephone network, our pool of vehicles and so on.

It is easy for a reporter to talk. Such growth, however, requires credit and working capital.... Well, Hungary is still a "good debtor," and the belt-tightening measures can be justified only by an improvement in the creditworthiness of Hungary; then we will have 1 or 2 years to prove that we can also make profits on the money that was invested here.

If there are obstacles to development, we should look for them at home. And at home we should make use of the favorable international environment. If we do this, the very small inconvenience caused by our inability to lay any kind of blame on foreign circumstances will become insignificant when accounts are settled at the end of the year.

Daily Holds Forum on Wages, Taxes, Incomes

AU151054 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview with Sandor Nagy, secretary of the National Trade Union Council, and Attila Madarasi, state secretary at the Finance Ministry, by correspondent Laszlo Szabo: "For Favorable Economic Changes—Forum on Wages, Taxes, Incomes";date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Responding to an invitation submitted by the NEPSZABADSAG, Sandor Nagy and Attila Madarasi participated in a forum at the NEPSZABADSAG headquarters. [passage omitted]

Szabo: Speaking about taxes, it is inevitable that we must discuss the invisible incomes and the problems involved in taxing these incomes.

Sandor Nagy: I have no illusions concerning the ability of the tax system to create order in the situation regarding the invisible incomes. Besides, invisible incomes are also high in countries like, Austria and the FRG, where this problem most certainly does not originate from the shortcomings of the wage system. Experience shows that the tax authorities in these countries also struggle against incomes derived from the black economy. I would like to point out a concrete sector—health care—to present our position. The real problem here, as I see it, is that if we "legalize" the invisible incomes here from a tax viewpoint, then we simultaneously declare that these incomes are natural: It is natural, for example, that the citizens pay, in one way or another, a fee for medical services. From here, however, we must consider what kind of health care is it where one has to pay twice for the same services. [passage omitted]

Let us finance all of health care on a totally different and wider social security basis. The essence of this practice would be that the citizens would receive in their incomes the present amount allocated from the budget for health care—even if it is not the entire sum, since the health care system has to be kept operational, and this costs money—and then the citizen would openly divide the actual expenses with the insurance companies. [passage omitted]

Attila Madarasi: In fact, the general mood is contradictory concerning the taxation of invisible incomes. On one hand, public opinion firmly condemns the impossible situation in which people who receive tips or other forms of invisible income, enjoy the advantage of not having to pay taxes on these incomes. On the other hand, the same public opinion blames the tax system for legalizing these invisible incomes. We are unable to eliminate this contradiction for now and we must continue to search for the best solution. [passage omitted]

Activity of Small-Scale Cooperatives Reviewed

AU141059 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Jan 88 p 10

[Article by Mrs Pal Szamosi, head of the Economic Department of the National Federation of Artisan Cooperatives "Small-Scale Cooperatives as Reflected in Numbers"]

[Excerpts] Professional circles and public opinion are greatly interested in the management of small ventures—including the small-scale cooperatives—particularly the development and effect of the conditions that determine their operation, the higher wages that can be achieved there, and the source of these higher wages. This prompted the Presidium of the Federation to evaluate the activity of the small-scale cooperatives and compare it with that of the traditional cooperatives. [passage omitted]

There were more than 600 traditional and 2,000 small-scale cooperatives in Hungary at the end of 1987. The majority of them flexibly adjusted to the market requirements and to the increased demands. Their production and sales increased by a rate that exceeded the average in socialist industry in 1986. [passage omitted]

The small-scale cooperative form developed most dynamically. Some 150 small-scale cooperatives were established in 1982. The majority were created from traditional cooperatives, but from 1983-1984, newly established small-scale cooperatives dominated. [passage omitted]

The small cooperatives were created primarily in professional areas where they often replaced shortages and produced products that had not been previously manufactured. Their activity can also be felt in the acceleration of the market competition.

The composition of the personnel employed by the two different types of cooperatives differs too: more than one-fifth of the 85,000 people employed in small-scale cooperatives are white-collar workers, while this proportion is only 17 percent in the case of traditional cooperatives. [passage omitted]

As a result of the combined effect of several elements, the efficiency of the small-scale cooperatives exceeds that of the traditional ones: On the basis of a complex efficiency indicator, small-scale cooperatives achieved an average of 16 to 34 percent higher results than the traditional cooperatives. [passage omitted]

Per capita net profit at the small-scale cooperatives is 1.5 to 2.3 percent higher than that of the traditional cooperatives. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR NEMZET Assesses Unemployment

AU141101 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Jan 88 p 5

[Article by Ivan Ersek: "The Limits of Training Capacities. Working Song, Toned Down...."]

[Excerpts] "An unemployed person is a person of working age, physically and mentally capable of work, who is presently not employed and is actively looking for a job, and who has thus officially reported his intention to the relevant institution." A report submitted to the TU Secretariat in the fall of last year formulated the above definition of the concept. In other words, like in the capitalist countries, the real number of unemployed in Hungary is also higher than the figure on record because, for many reasons, many people do not go to the labor exchange offices. And these offices do not even have too much to offer to intellectuals and unskilled workers, or workers who are incapacited in some way.

At the last National Assembly session, Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy spoke of between 4,000 and 10,000 temporarily unemployed people. This is a very small number compared to the approximately 5 million active wage earners. And even if job offers have dropped in recent years, it is still possible to choose from among more than 55,000 jobs. [passage omitted]

Only a single large enterprise has been liquidated since the introduction of the so-called bankruptcy law, and thus not too many people have lost their jobs as a result of enterprise liquidations. Staff reductions are gradually continuing at rehabilitated, large-scale enterprises, such as the Metallurgical Works in Ozd or the Lenin Metallurgical Works of Diosgyor. Violations at labor discipline were the main reasons for firing workers, with almost 500 workers fired for such violations at the Metallurgical Works in Ozd. [passage omitted]

A lively debate is under way in the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] on what the trade unions can do for the unemployed. They are considering contributions to the employment policy fund, making various halls available for retraining courses, assisting in organizing courses, and even preparing the unemployed for "selling themselves" when looking for a job. [passage omitted]

In the past employees were not defended primarily by the trade unions either, and not even by the Labor Statute, but by the manpower market. And this manpower market has now changed. [passage omitted]

The fact that a modern system of adult education has not been developed in Hungary hinders the efficient application of retraining support. [passage omitted]

Will the problems increase if the structural change and the consistent elimination of inefficient activities really starts? Most probably they will, and no "employment therapy" will help those who have been fired for poor performance. [passage omitted]

Formation of Jobless Trade Unions Reported

AU131001 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
13 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—The thrift policy of the Hungarian Government has lead to a process that is unique in the East Bloc states: In several parts of the country "trade union groups of temporarily jobless people" have been founded. In particular in north-east Hungary, where a number of obsolete heavy industry enterprises will probably be closed down, the "trade union" has acquired a considerable number of members over the first few days.

One of the first candidates was Istvan Orosz from the Diosgyor Machine Factory, as the magazine HETI VILAGGAZDASAG reports. After he was fired on 19 November, the foundry worker received five offers for jobs from the state labor exchange; when he applied for these jobs, they had already been given away.

The family now lives on his wife's maternity allowance for the third child and on 2,400 forints, which were paid to the family as a lump-sum relief payment. Orosz, who earned 8,000-9,000 forints, does not receive unemployment benefits.

The magazine for the first time compiles a survey on the work situation in Hungary. In the third quarter of last year there were 10,465 jobless and 55,500 available jobs. Thus, there are still five free jobs for every unemployed person; in 1986, however, one unemployed person was still able to choose from 10 jobs.

The development is particularly unfavorable with regard to people with low qualifications. In 6 of the 19 counties more untrained workers are waiting for a job than there are free jobs available. During the first half of this year the unemployment figures are expected to rise sharply because in particular in the north-east Hungarian industrial areas unprofitable enterprises are to be closed down.

The biggest problems are, however, created by "creeping notice". If an enterprise gives notice to fewer than 10 workers at one time, this is neither considered as "reduction of the work force" nor as "rationalization"—but only in these cases the unemployed are retrain and receive unemployment benefits for the transitional period.

Manpower Trends in Building Industry

AU131740 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian
2 Jan 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Increasing Competition—5,500 People Left the Building Industry"]

[Text] The structural reorganization in the building industry continued in 1987; the main feature of this process is the increase in the number of building organizations. Thus, at the end of 1987, a total of 1,400 building organizations—that is, construction, planning, investment, and research organizations—were operating in Hungary, 50 percent more than in 1986. Adjusting to the demand for building—which was larger than usual but which entailed smaller-scale building tasks—the staff of the large enterprises decreased, while at the same time small ventures were established in increasing numbers. Some 17,500 workers left the larger enterprises within a year; approximately 12,000 of them joined smaller organizations, and about 5,500 left this industrial sector altogether. In comparison with the previous year, the performance of the traditional building industry enterprises and cooperatives dropped by 2.4 percent, and so their share in the country's construction performance decreased to 38 percent.

The supply of and demand for building projects in 1987 was on the whole balanced; in certain areas and professions, however, a surplus supply developed and competition between entrepreneurs increased.

Peace Council Head Returns from Meetings

LD131909 Budapest MTI in English
1718 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—Janos Barabas, general secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council, returned to Budapest from Moscow Wednesday. Janos Barabas held talks earlier in the week in Moscow and Warsaw with the leaders of the Soviet and the Polish Peace Councils.

At talks with the delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee, led by first vice president Vladimir Oriol, the sides stated that the promising changes achieved in international political life, in the creation of which the international peace forces also played a role, provide further impetus and programme for the struggle of the peace movements both in the field of reducing strategic, and chemical and conventional arms. The sides agreed that new opportunities are opening for the even more extensive dialogue of the peace movements, mainly in Europe. The processes taking place in the Soviet and the Hungarian society can open a new age in bilateral relations: The Soviet peace movement also intends to devote greater attention to its domestic activity, and supports the operation of self-active groups based on the initiatives of the citizens.

In the spirit of this attitude the sides agreed to hold a bilateral conference in the second half of April in Budapest, under the title "The Place and Role of Peace movements in Socialist Society". In Warsaw, an agreement was reached with the Polish Peace Council, under which representatives of the Hungarian peace movement will be present at the peace forum and cultural festival to be held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the launching of the International Peace Movement in Wroclaw. A Hungarian-Polish peace seminar is to be held in early June, at the time of the special disarmament session of the UNO, to discuss the effects of disarmament on society and education.

New Political College Rector Nominated

AU131249 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 5 Jan 88 p 3

[Text] A general meeting for teachers' was held at the Political College on 4 January. MSZMP Politburo Member Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee, spoke about the teachers' tasks connected with the reform of the institution and about political science and cadre instruction issues.

At the meeting, Janos Berecz installed MSZMP Central Committee Member Pal Romany as the new rector of the College. Janos Berecz praised and thanked the retiring rector, Dr Jozsef Szabo, for his close to 4 decades of activity and 10 years of activity as a rector.

Also present at the meeting was Erno Lakatos, head of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee.

Leaders, Press View Visit by FRG's Genscher

Text of Genscher Speech

AU141502 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12 Jan 88 p 4

[Text of speech by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the 11 January Warsaw reception given in his honor by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski]

[Text] Minister, Most Esteemed Mrs Orzechowski, Ladies and Gentlemen: We kindly thank you for your hospitality. During our talk in New York last September we agreed that the time has come to make another stride toward strengthening and intensifying the FRG-PPR relations.

My visit is an expression of our resolve to give a new stimulus to German-Polish relations. Outstanding persons, who have done so much for German-Polish reconciliation, have accompanied me on this trip, a measure that emphasizes our intentions.

The wheel of history will not be turned back. We want to move it forward, because we owe this to the peoples of our countries and of Europe. Relations between Germans and Poles are of importance for all Europe.

Just as German history has never belonged solely to us, to Germans, so German-Polish relations have always been of significance for all Europe. Germans and Poles are two great nations in the heart of Europe and form the center of our continent. It is possible to draw only one lesson from the tragic past that is so pregnant in sufferings: War and hatred, oppression and the trampling down of other people's rights must not exist in our thoughts and actions. We bear together historical and moral responsibility for ensuring that we do all we can to promote peace and understanding.

We must strengthen trust step by step. We want understanding and reconciliation. The FRG-PPR treaty signed in 1970 is a law and political foundation for developing new relations between our countries. This treaty expresses that which the government and peoples in our two countries want to achieve: a new beginning of a better future.

The treaty signed in Warsaw embraced wider horizons of history, and its historical results are already there, because it is an expression of a new spirit in Europe. This treaty has broken through the vicious circle of doing wrongs and repaying them by new wrongs. We know and respect the Polish people's wish to be able to live within secure borders for all times to come. The FRG has no territorial claims on anyone, nor will it have any in the future.

We will not allow anyone to undermine this basic concept of European security, European trust, and European future. For the sake of our common future, we must not allow this to happen. Our relations with Poland are the test of the moral quality of our foreign policy.

The FRG and the PPR are becoming increasingly aware of their joint responsibility for Europe. The subject of the fifth German-Polish forum, which was held in Kiel last May—"what can Poles and Germans do together for Europe?—clearly showed that the main task for our two countries is to search in the context of Europe for an answer to the challenges that are looming on the threshold of the 21st century.

Minister: We continue to watch keenly the political and economic changes that are taking place in your country. It is our wish that you continue to tread this road and achieve successes. Efforts to decentralize the powers relating to making economic decisions, to reform prices and incomes, and to reduce subsidies are indispensable if the Polish economy, its productivity and export potential, and the confidence of international organizations and bilateral trading partners are to be strengthened.

It is our wish that the PPR is able to solve its economic and social problems. We will willingly contribute to this task insofar as we are able. We will do this within the framework of multilateral efforts and through bilateral relations. We consider ourselves your partners in realizing the policy that is expected to serve the people of your country. We are ready to engage in intensified economic, scientific, and technological cooperation and in solving problems of the protection of the natural environment. Signing an accord on the protection of investments would create additional stimuli for an even more intensive economic cooperation between us.

Negotiations to sign an accord on scientific-technological cooperation should be soon completed. As members of the European Community, who have been appointed to the presidency of the community for this half year, we support the process of negotiations and normalization between the European Community and CEMA and between the European Community and the CEMA states. We support Poland's efforts to settle its relations with the European Community by signing an accord and we encourage all our community members to see that specific negotiations between Poland and the European Community take place in the near future.

Minister, ladies and gentlemen: Cultural relations between our two countries continue to develop favorably. We plan to hold the week of FRG culture in Poland in the fall. We are in favor of establishing cultural institutes and in favor of cultural cooperation, which is of extremely great political significance. Only he who understands and respects cultural achievements of another nation is able to enter into its soul. For this reason we also need exchanges of young people, because such exchanges today help to develop and strengthen

relations between nations tomorrow. The successes achieved through the institutionalization of the German-French exchanges of young people have demonstrated what such exchanges can achieve. Precisely German-Polish history and especially its painful chapters have showed us that only respect for the cultural achievements of another nation helps to trigger really peaceful moods. Nations that have respect for each other will not let themselves be drawn into provoking each other.

We are pleased to state that the individual and tourist traffic between our two states continues to develop on an ever increasing scale. Almost 600,000 Polish citizens visited the FRG in 1987 and hundreds of thousands of our citizens visited Poland. This development should also help solve those cases in which meetings between persons are not possible or in which family ties have been interrupted. Magnanimity in this regard and with regard to departures from Poland may solve the still outstanding problems in line with the decisions made jointly by our two states.

In this spirit also those people who live in the PPR and wish to maintain their German cultural and linguistic traditions should be granted opportunities for free development.

Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen: In December 1987 we all witnessed an epochal event of great results.

The Washington accord on the worldwide elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium range missiles is a breakthrough in the history of negotiations on armaments control [kontrola] and on the fundamental issues of East-West relations. The clear resolve in the West and in the East to make our world more peaceful is a long expected victory of common sense.

The elimination of an entire category of weapons of mass destruction has curbed the arms race spiral for the first time. A historic start has been made, and we must resolutely take further steps. I am thinking of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons, which is to be signed during the first half of 1988. As for conventional arms, we wish to stabilize a balance at a low level for all of Europe, but as history shows, equilibrium alone does not prevent wars. That is why a situation has to exist on both sides in which forces are geared solely toward defense needs. The capacity to launch an attack, a surprise attack, and a broad offensive must be eliminated.

This year it should also be possible to achieve a worldwide ban on chemical weapons at Geneva. These terrible weapons of mass destruction must be eliminated everywhere. Moreover, there is a growing danger that more and more states will acquire them.

At the Geneva disarmament conference East and West have moved very close to one another, and we must now overcome the last remaining obstacles. I note with satisfaction the close cooperation in this area between both our delegations at the Geneva disarmament conference.

Disarmament cannot be left solely to the great powers. Europeans have an important role to play because they reap the greatest benefits from progress in this area. The PPR and the FRG play an important role in the alliances to which they belong. We should exploit this role for the good of all Europeans.

Mr Minister, ladies and gentlemen: Do Germans and Poles have any more important task and does history provide a better lesson than that Germans and Poles should work together, as architects and builders, to create a new, better Europe?

I propose that we should work together at planning and building a common European home in which all peoples have a place and enjoy equal rights and in which doors do not shut off access but allow peoples and nations to come together.

People in all parts of Europe must feel that the policies of their governments benefit them and that it pays to be a citizen of Europe.

Mr Minister, ladies and gentlemen: No previous generation has borne a degree of responsibility that compares with that which is borne by us. Technological progress has given us the opportunity to create a more humane world, but it can also bring with it the danger that everything that is living will be destroyed for centuries to come. We can only choose between living together or engaging in a conflict that entails mutual destruction. Mankind has become a community that shares a desire to survive. Our responsibility extends beyond our time.

We have a bitter experience of history and we have emerged from it more mature.

As we bear a responsibility for the future, Germans and Poles should meet each other half way and achieve fraternal reconciliation.

Orzechowski Speaks at Dinner

AU141700 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 88 p 4

[Speech by PPR Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski at a dinner in honor of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, in Warsaw on 11 January]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Federal Minister, Esteemed Mrs Genscher, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I welcome you once again, Mr Federal Minister, and your wife and entourage.

We welcome you as a politician who is well-known in Poland. You are making your own tangible contribution to the difficult work of normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG, and we value it. Your attitude toward detente and all-European cooperation is also close to our hearts.

I am convinced that a frank and open exchange of views with representatives of Poland's supreme state and political authorities will bring positive results and significant progress on the road to normalizing our relations, upon which we embarked 17 years ago.

Mr Minister: We share the conviction that relations between Poland and the FRG have a broader European dimension. This is becoming particularly clear in the present situation in Europe and the world. This situation contains more and more signs and tendencies that raise hopes of reducing the risk of a mass armed conflict, consolidating peace, and achieving a permanent improvement to the international climate. The hopes of the world's nations were given wings by the recent meeting between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, and by their agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles. What seemed impossible yesterday is becoming a fact today. Freeing mankind of the burden of armaments does not have to remain in the sphere of dreams. We hope that the elimination of two dangerous categories of weapons of mass-destruction weapons will favorably affect peace, security, East-West relations, and cooperation in Europe, and that it will be followed by further steps to reduce strategic nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons.

Poland and its allies will spare no efforts to realize the idea of a world free of mass-destruction weapons in which people can live safely, in a climate of peaceful cooperation.

We are keenly interested in upholding the constructive trends visible in European politics. We are engaged in the consolidation of broad cooperation in Europe. That is our contribution to the idea of building a common European home.

We are determined to contribute to the development of the CSCE process and to the building of confidence, security, and disarmament in Europe. We attach great importance to successful results by the Vienna meeting. We believe that in its final phase, all the participants will increase their efforts to create a real and balanced final document and adopt a mandate that will open the road to disarmament talks and enhance what was already started at the Stockholm conference.

Poland and the FRG—states occupying an important position in the two political and military alliances—have a significant role to play in these positive processes. As you said, they can and should lead the way to a stable peaceful order in Europe. In our opinion this role has two aspects, a better structure of bilateral relations and the joint encouragement and consolidation of European cooperation.

Mr Minister: Conscious of our responsibility for preserving peace and security in Europe and remembering the tragic experience of World War II, we have presented a proposal to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, known as the Jaruzelski Plan. This plan refers to our earlier disarmament proposals. It is a sign of the continuity of Poland's foreign policy, with its chief objective of creating permanent bases of European security. The comprehensive plan covers nuclear and conventional weapons, confidence- and security-building measures, and matters concerning the conversion of military doctrines into purely defensive ones, and takes into account all interests of the relevant parties. Implementing the Jaruzelski Plan would add greater security to a region with the greatest concentration of armaments and create favorable conditions for activities to build an all-European system of security from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The development of the situation on our continent should and may become the example of positive changes in the world pattern. That is why the stable bases of European peace, in other words the political and territorial order established as a result of World War II and endorsed by postwar development, bilateral agreements, and the CSCE Final Act, are so important. Any attempts to undermine this order can only disturb the development of European cooperation.

Mr Minister: The 7 December 1970 treaty on the normalization of relations forms the inalienable basis of our relations. It has already achieved historical significance. Its final recognition of the border on the Odra and Nysa rivers and the commitments expressed therein not to violate this border, to respect territorial integrity, and to desist from making territorial claims in the future have paved the way to a comprehensive normalization of relations between our countries. This road is neither easy nor free of impediments or difficulties. These stem from, among other things, the painful past and from the special historical-moral nature of our bilateral relations.

Pursuing the provisions and spirit of the treaty, we shall spare no efforts to create a solid and lasting foundation of bilateral cooperation and its comprehensive development. We shall not run short of the will and determination to create the mutual confidence that is so indispensable in our relations.

We may say with satisfaction that we have achieved major progress in many spheres. Political dialogue, involving governments, parliaments, political parties, and social organizations, plays an important role in our relations. We have developed various forms of cultural and scientific cooperation. We have created broad possibilities of direct contact between the citizens of our countries.

Economic relations are particularly significant. For the size of trade and economic cooperation determines the development possibilities and size of cooperation in all other spheres.

The FRG is Poland's largest Western economic partner. Therefore, we are all the more concerned about the stagnation and even regression in trade and industrial coproduction in recent years. These are disturbing signals. They should mobilize us into action designed to create better conditions for the development of economic cooperation. One of the most important prerequisites for this cooperation is a full normalization of financial and credit relations, which will enable us to accelerate the rhythm of socioeconomic changes and make good at least some of the damage to Poland's economy caused by the policy of restrictions and sanctions.

Our country is following the road of sociopolitical and economic reforms steadily and persistently. Economic cooperation with foreign countries is becoming more important. Our economic relations with the FRG should occupy an important part of this process.

Mr Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen: Aware of our responsibility for the successful development of our relations, we express our readiness and determination to achieve tangible progress in them. Their current state suits neither present possibilities nor the needs and expectations of our societies.

Therefore, it is the task of our governments to create the conditions for a major step forward in all spheres of our relations and enrich them. But this cannot be achieved without resolving a series of problems that remain open in our bilateral relations. Good will by both sides is essential in order to attain this objective. Poland will not lack the readiness to seek solutions to these problems, also by means of sound compromises which take into account the interests of Poland and the FRG.

Mr Federal Minister: Your visit to Poland is an important event in bilateral relations and on an international level. We want its results to cause a tangible improvement to the climate of our relations, develop constructive cooperation, and raise this cooperation to a qualitatively higher level.

FRG'S Kohl Reviews Trip

LD142245 Warsaw PAP in English
2227 GMT 14 Jan 88

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 14—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl told newsmen here today that he did not have any objections to the assessment of the visit by Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Poland as presented to him by the head of the Bonn diplomacy.

According to the chancellor there are great chances for his visit to Poland to take place already this year. However, he did not want to go too far in forecasting, as many issues still required solid preparations.

Referring to a statement made once by Konrad Adenauer to the effect that the FRG was conscious of its particular attitude towards three countries—Israel, France and Poland, Kohl said that his country had already achieved a fully satisfactory level of relations with Israel and France, but this cannot be said in relation to Poland. Kohl admitted that the dialogue with Poland was biased by very tough history. Nevertheless, he expressed his willingness to possible do all that these relations assume a new quality as well. [sentence as received]

Talks Give 'New Impulse'

LD142302 Warsaw PAP in English
2144 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn Jan. 14—The FRG minister for foreign affairs, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said in an interview for the Deutsche Welle radio station here today that during his intensive talks in Warsaw Agreement was reached as to the need for giving a new impulse to West German-Polish relations and providing them with fresh substance. This, however, requires intensive work in the next few months for the creation of premises for the visit to Poland by the FRG chancellor, he added.

The visit is to lead, in both sides' shared opinion, to a breakthrough in mutual relations, Genscher said. He also stated that today the time has come to undertake new efforts on a long road, on which there was stagnation, set-backs but also progress.

Referring to the Jaruzelski Plan, Minister Genscher said "it contained elements totally in agreement with what we also want." It contains concepts which agree with our wishes, he added.

Call for 'Closer Cooperation'

AU151120 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Jan 88 p 2

[Ryszard Drecki commentary: "To Know How To Want"]

[Text] "The wheel of history will not be turned back, we want to move it forward." This was a good, relevant, I would even say excellent, thought expressed by Minister Genscher in his toast during the official dinner at the Namiestnikowski Palace on Monday.

Poland and the FRG are countries that are geographically close, populous, situated in an all-important part of Europe, and playing a major role in the alliances to which they belong. And at the same time, the past has given their mutual relations, in the words of Minister Orzechowski, "a special moral-historical character."

These Polish West-German relations exist on two levels. The first of these calls for closer cooperation in the joint European home. But the second, no less important than the first and closely connected with it, calls for a proper structure of bilateral relations, and it is this second level which I wish to concentrate on.

It is no coincidence that Hans-Dietrich Genscher assured us that "the wheel of history would not be reversed." Unfortunately, the situation is such that a member of the FRG Government is forced to make assurances like these if he wants to be included among responsible and realistically-thinking statesmen. He has to do so because the FRG still contains political forces, institutions, and laws that question existing European borders and are trying to reverse this wheel of history. This is the first major impediment to proper bilateral relations.

Another impediment is economic relations. They form an important chapter of these relations, especially because the financial consequences of economic relations determines the possibility of cooperation in many other spheres.

Broad political dialogue, matching the level of both countries' responsibility, has developed between the governments, parliaments, and parties of Poland and the FRG. But despite this undoubtable achievement, the road to a complete normalization of relations is still fraught with obstacles.

Minister Genscher spoke about moving the wheel of history forward. But Polish diplomacy tends to speak of the need for a major step forward in mutual relations or tangible progress. The formulations that are used vary, but they mean the same thing. The point is to translate these apparently convergent declarations of intention into practice.

How? Most of all, one has to know how to want, which involves not some empty and ineffective "wishful thinking," but a readiness and desire to make decisions and undertakings that would bring measurable advantages to European cooperation and to both states and their societies. On both levels of their relations, the two states are faced with quite high expectations and tasks.

Orzechowski Meets Norwegian Officials

LD141940 Warsaw PAP in English
1844 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—Representatives of the Polish and Norwegian foreign ministries held consultations here on Jan. 13-14 to discuss the CSCE Vienna meeting and prospects for its successful end.

The meeting also discussed military aspects of security in Europe including those referring to the Jaruzelski plan.

The Norwegian delegation, led by Ambassador Leif Mevik who heads the delegation for the CSCE Vienna meeting, was received by Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski.

Aide Discusses Relations With World Bank, IMF

PM121523 Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU
in Polish 20 Oct 87 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Olechowski, director of Polish National Bank Bureau for Cooperation with the World Bank, by Jacek Swidzinski, given after Olechowski's return from 41st meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Board of Governors in Washington; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Olechowski] Among other things, one of the World Bank's major worries is the scarcity of capital funds. It has been suggested that membership contributions should be doubled. As we are also applying for credit, we are welcoming that proposal.

[Swidzinski] Did the Polish delegation go to Washington only to secure credits?

[Olechowski] That was one of the two major points on our schedule of tasks. The other, more general one, was a further widening of our participation in the international finance market.

[Swidzinski] What are the principles according to which the World Bank grants such credits?

[Olechowski] First, one must be a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Second, credits are granted to those countries whose per capita national income does not exceed the sum of approximately 2,900 dollars.

[Swidzinski] Forgive me, but for many years I have been under the impression that we had already passed the 3,000 dollar mark.

[Olechowski] Our national income calculated in U.S. dollars has gone down recently. We had, after all, devalued the zloty yet again. Thus, we now qualify to be counted among group 2 of the developing countries.

[Swidzinski] Are the terms of credit proposed by the World Bank advantageous to Poland?

[Olechowski] First of all, at present we have no access to the more substantial credits offered by the commercial banks, nor do we have any hope of getting any long-term credit. But the World Bank is prepared and able to grant Poland such type of credits. It would be credits granted for 15 years, for specified investment purposes. The rate of interest in the World Bank is changeable. It approximates to the "Libor" [London Inter-bank Offered Rate] interest rate determined by the London Exchange and regarded as an international interest rate criterion.

[Swidzinski] What directions of development does the World Bank suggest we should follow?

[Olechowski] Your question again reflects a journalistic distortion. It is the Polish side that presents its proposals for the investments that would be financed by these credits. The World Bank experts assess these proposals and depending on their opinion the bank either grants or refuses the credit. I believe that our current proposals have been assessed positively.

[Swidzinski] What are these proposals?

[Olechowski] They include three groups of tasks: investment projects in the food and power industries and in export ventures calculated to bring in quick returns.

[Swidzinski] Can you say that the deal is already "clinched"?

[Olechowski] That would be saying too much. Drawing extensively on reports and data supplied by the Polish side, the World Bank has prepared a report on the condition of our economy, entitled "The Polish Reform, Adjustment, and Growth." The report was received favorably. This was the first point to our advantage. Polish plans for the second stage of the reform were also favorably received, which gives us another point. A third point in our favor, and one that I personally am very happy about, is that our export results this year are much better than expected. This is very important because it proves that we are in possession of economic instruments which enable us to reach our proposed goals.

[Swidzinski] Does that mean that our credibility in the international credit market is being restored?

[Olechowski] I very much dislike the term "credibility." It suggests that it is a question of creed, or belief, whereas we are dealing with questions which can be calculated with great precision by economists. Our standing here is still far from excellent, but the first signs are there that we can improve it. Cooperation with the World Bank itself will not automatically solve the whole problem. We must also regulate our relations with the Paris Club, whose members include Poland's major government-creditors. At the same time, representatives of the same governments hold a substantial share of the World Bank funds. However, political factors are involved in the moves made by the Paris Club.

[Swidzinski] What, then, is the situation?

[Olechowski] It seems that the World Bank has taken the first step toward removing the bar which has been preventing us from obtaining foreign credits. It is now preparing an assessment of the Polish investment proposals submitted with our applications for credits and by June or July next year the Bank's board of directors will decide whether the credits should be granted. Let me stress that the World Bank has made the first step here, but it expects the Polish side to sort out its financial affairs with its other creditors. This would enable all our financial partners to coordinate their actions. It is the only kind of cooperation that can succeed in rectifying our financial relations with our foreign partners—relations which are at present so abnormal that they seriously hinder our development.

Gwiazda Meets Foreign Trade Representatives

LD142146 Warsaw PAP in English
1852 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda met today with trade representatives of Poland's foreign economic partners accredited to Warsaw to sum up results of last year's economic cooperation and trade exchange.

Gwiazda ensured that Poland would consistently develop the policy of openness in economic cooperation with abroad which helps invigorate economic links with other countries. The role of joint ventures should be of particular significance for the process. The minister expressed the hope that the progressing normalization of international political relations would be instrumental for the elimination of barriers still present in the economic dialogue.

Domestic Trade Ministry Duties Described

LD141022 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Jan 88

[No video available]

[Text] New heads of the Domestic Trade and Services Ministry were presented today to journalists. The Domestic Trade and Services Ministry's most important task was formulated at today's press conference as regaining the market balance. It is now also known who is responsible for what within the new ministry.

Deputy Minister Tadeusz Hyla will concern himself with the quality of goods. We will think of him when there is rubbish in the shops. He will also grant and take away the quality marks.

Andrzej Glowacki will deal with, among others, services and the organization of retail trade. His concern is competition and modernity. Our concerns are the same.

Deputy Minister Jerzy Owczarek will have to be wiser than King Solomon. He will have to share around the raw and other materials available for the industry to produce the goods which we will later buy in shops.

Deputy Minister Czeslaw Skowronek is officially responsible, beginning today, for the economic reform in commerce.

Minister Jerzy Jozwiak will continue to be responsible for the entire thing. He has a lot on his plate. It is difficult to tell what is worse: demands or expectations, but one cannot expect (?something else), as our well-being depends on the state and cooperative trade.

ZDANIE Editor Analyzes 6th Plenum, Problems

AU131601 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 30 Dec 87 pp 18, 19

[Interview with Marian Stepien, professor at Krakow University and chief editor of ZDANIE monthly, by Miroslawa Machura: "I Am a Moderate Pessimist, But...."—date and place not given]

[Text] [Machura] The sixth PZPR Central Committee plenum, the report to which was published in advance, is behind us. Both the plenum discussion and the report show that we have reached a turning point in the history of People's Poland. Which of the streams of our changes do you regard as most important?

[Stepien] If we study the materials of the fifth and sixth plenums, we have to conclude that their basic features are changes toward extensively democratizing all fields of our life. As a rule, such sociopolitical changes enjoy enormous support from society, and, that is proverbial wind for the party's sails. But in our country we have to reckon with certain peculiarities, which result primarily from our very bad economic situation and from complicated socioeconomic problems. As a society, which includes the party, we continue to experience many difficulties and normal concerns about the future, and to indulge in doubts from time to time.

People keep asking whether it is now possible to trigger the social militancy that in the past was able to spur people and the party on to action. Almost everyone agrees that reforms are necessary, and that they are the only way out of our predicament. However, we know that the road between declarations and their realization is long and bumpy.

Another problem is former PZPR members. Ideological and political upheavals, especially those at the beginning of the eighties, took away many members from the party, including valuable ones. We should ensure that the party members we are most keen to get back are able to rejoin our ranks or to come closer to us.

[Machura] Does our history confirm the thesis that the democratization of socioeconomic life shores up economic development? At the beginning of the eighties, which was a period of great social articulateness, there was a serious breakdown in our economy. Some people maintain that industrial discipline and a technological regime exclude democratization, at least in production enterprises.

[Stepien] It seems to me that we should find a solution and modus vivendi that, on the one hand, create favorable conditions for developing all forms of democratization and, on the other, do not destabilize what I would call production discipline in the broadest terms. I can see no other way. After all, failure to observe certain established rules of the game most often leads to economic disturbances and, even, catastrophes.

I think that broadly conceived democratization of life and discipline in production do not exclude each other. On the contrary, practicing both at the same time may help to consolidate both.

Democratization of life must not hinder or destabilize discipline. For example, the work force of an enterprise must not, in the name of badly conceived democracy, indulge in loose discipline, strikes, and discussions during working time. It seems to me that the past few years have produced and encouraged attitudes that no society anywhere would be ready to accept.

For example, I am doubtful about social consultations, but not in general. I am doubtful only about those that concern strictly economic matters. For example, in every corner of the world people, when asked about price hikes, will always oppose them, will always say no! People in the street do not have to know all about the mechanisms that determine the laws of the economy. They do not have to operate these mechanisms. This is the task of experts and scientists. Let them decide about price hikes.

[Machura] I think it will not be amiss to ask you here in Krakow, which is the cradle of the creative intelligentsia's traditions and perhaps legends, about this community, because the intelligentsia has always played an important role in social changes. This is the history of Poland, and the special status of the intelligentsia has been created against this background. What is the present situation? Does the intelligentsia still play the role of the sponsor of transformations? Does it exert a rationalizing influence on populist tendencies? [Stepien] I have often spoken on this subject, and people have often taken me to task in this connection, because I view the way in which the intelligentsia has behaved and reacted in the past years with scepticism and criticism.

As an amateur politician who is interested in politics as much as is necessary for one who is a historian of literature, especially 20th century literature, I view those years of experience, especially the beginning of the eighties, as a test of the human mind for both individuals and the entire community of the intelligentsia. Those years were also a test of character. The representatives of the intelligentsia who sympathized with the Solidarity movement, who served as its advisors, and continued to express very friendly views about it disappointed us in that they had no courage to speak the whole truth about the weaknesses of the Solidarity movement and about the dangers that very quickly invaded this movement.

Nor did they reveal the wisdom and penetrating thinking that one expects of those who call themselves intellectuals. Unfortunately, this is a sorry experience for me, because I am a member of the intelligentsia. It is easy to imagine that the views I have expressed now and previously have not won me friends in my own community. I am convinced that time, which exerts a rationalizing influence on one's attitudes, will help to rehabilitate the high standing of the intelligentsia in the national process of progressive transformations.

[Machura] Does not the attitude of the intelligentsia proceed from our national problem...?

[Stepien] Looking at Polish affairs from a distance—it is worth looking at them from a distance from time to time, without losing sight of certain closeups—I reach the following conclusion: The things that has existed and still exist in our country—all the political forces, including the Catholic Church, the party, the political-state authorities, the Solidarity movement, the intelligentsia, the workers class and peasantry, and their representatives—are really products of the qualities, potentials, and aspirations of our nation.

I do not want to excuse certain errors and abuses but, for example, I am able to imagine how an average American in the United States may look at what happened in our country and what still causes a lot of trouble for us: "There is a country in the center of Europe that is unable to untangle its problems." For that American, it is not important who is to blame and what political systems are to blame. What is important for him is the fact that in the center of Europe, which is a highly civilized area, there is a certain society (quite large) that is strangely incapable of solving its own problems.

This presents a most disquieting issue because, if we assume that the party did commit errors, were are all indirectly responsible for them to some extent, since we allowed the party to commit them. This does not at all mean that I wish to excuse the party or to release it from its responsibility. But if, say, the Sejm did not play its role, those who acquiesced in this also bear responsibility. We could cite more instances. Take the Catholic Church's behavior today, for example. Take certain features of this behavior, which were quite different before. Now there is a kind of conceit, arrogance, haughtiness, presumptuousness, and an excessive feeling of power.

I also have in mind the issue of the predispositions of the individual Pole. I have always said that in our country there is no dearth of honest and decent people, but that there is a shortage of honest and efficient people, of honest, enterprising, and persevering people. It is not difficult to be honest and to think only of domestic peace.

It is easy to assume such an attitude if one avoids all difficulties and conflicting situations. In our country there is a shortage of honest and enterprising people! This is related to some extent to a broader problem of cadres. I think that some of the systems we use encourage this shortage. Naturally, I do not mean that we have been biologically condemned to embody certain bad characteristics, while others enjoy good characteristics. However, certain social mechanisms can be more instrumental in developing certain attitudes, while other mechanisms cannot.

[Machura] People often ask whether we will be able to carry through our sociopolitical and economic reforms after the bad experience of the fifties and seventies. People say jocularly "third time lucky," but this explains nothing. What factors can determine our success?

[Stepien] Moderate optimism has now become fashionable, but I consider myself a moderate pessimist, that is, a pessimist who does not give up. I incline toward pessimism in order to protest against it, and to prove it wrong. You have asked me about factors that may help us to be successful this time.

First, never before have we found ourselves in a situation like the present one, which I would call a "hot position, in front of the soccer goal." The previous situation was better and more advantageous for making decisions.

[Machura] But during the 1950's, on the eve of October and after October, generally speaking, the situation was also not easy...

[Stepien] That is true, but because there was generally more confidence in the party and the authorities it was easier to avoid taking consistent action. Things are more difficult today. The party and the state authorities are facing a very tough test; there is no reserve of confidence, it is more a case of scrutiny combined with scepticism. So, it is an exceptionally serious situation! Renewal must succeed because there is no alternative.

Let us return once again to the situation that existed after October 1956. At that time there was a great deal of confidence, which was, unfortunately, wasted, but today there is no choice. Subjective impressions, goodwill, or good intentions are no longer enough. The only thing that counts at the present time is action, because public opinion scrutinizes, examines, and registers every move, gesture, and step.

Second, the way in which the situation in the Soviet Union is evolving is a very important factor. Previously, the renewal movement in Poland was a purely Polish movement. If it resembled what happened in Hungary, then the coincidence had a negative effect more than anything else. Apart from the Hungarians, the attitude toward what was happening in Poland was rather one of hostility. And it is not so important whether at that time someone was stopping us from instituting reforms or

not. What was important, above all, was that opponents of reform could point to the situation in, for example, the Soviet Union and hinder the process of change by citing the real or conjectured opinions of Soviet comrades.

The situation today is different. We are allies of the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union reference is made to the situation following the 20th CPSU Congress, just as we refer to the the eighth plenum, that is, to the situation following the 20th congress as well.

Third, we are emerging from a period of isolation. Our actions are being carefully observed by the international community, especially the financial community. The course that events have taken has made capitalism take an interest in the success of the Polish reform program. This is a paradoxical situation, because the Polish opposition, supported by certain Western intelligence agencies, is as a rule opposed to our efforts. But in de facto terms it is in the interests of banks and other bodies that possess capital that debtors be solvent, which may be the case if we implement the reform program.

[Machura] So, we can say that these three factors are of an external kind. What can we say about internal factors?

[Stepien] Yes; I see external factors as providing not so much a guarantee that reforms will be implemented and will succeed, but as a form of pressure in favor of reform. As for internal factors, factors of a subjective kind, let us remember that, if we had spoken about guarantees—to use today's terminology—following October, then what we would have had in mind would have been guarantees concerning the attitude of central institutions toward reform. We know that what actually happened was that things went badly. The center did not have the political will to institute reforms, and as a result Wladyslaw Gomulka lost a great opportunity. Thus, it was possible for a subjective factor that existed in the party itself to play a role of this kind. The configuration of political forces has now changed. The party, which in the past always found itself on the "sidelines" with respect to the process of reform, is now promoting change. My confidence in the success of the reform is not, however, located solely in the party, but in the situation outside the party as well. This stems from the influence of objective internal factors that determine the level of social activity and compel the authorities to take reform-oriented action. This is because we are dealing with a kind of positive effect produced by social disenchantment stemming from the past. "I have been disappointed, I do not have so much confidence now, but I support the direction of the reforms. However, I will not be as trusting as in the past. I will look at what the authorities are doing and check to see how reliable they are. My trust will increase or diminish depending on the results that are produced." This kind of reasoning is something that is common to a great many Poles.

[Machura] In economics one talks of the second stage of reform, and in social life of the acceleration of democracy. But what should be said about the internal party changes and about the party's activity in general so that it corresponds to the two earlier streams? In other words, what sort of picture would you paint of this matter, comrade professor?

[Stepien] It seems to me that the documents of the two latest very important plenums, which tackled developments in a novel way, do not cover the party's role fully. For example, I failed to find a satisfactory explanation of the role of the party apparatus in the reform process. And yet people are worried if the party apparatus will stand the weight of this historic task, whether it will prove equal to it. This uncertainty, which is not exclusive to me, is caused by a feeling of concern about the success of the undertakings initiated and implemented by our party. However, I have observed favorable changes, especially recently, which provide reason to believe that all the factors that have inspired the reform will permit a more open party attitude. Those whom I would call Marxist fundamentalists, people who are more concerned about whether our judgments conform to quotations from the works of classic authors than to the changing and developing reality, have a little less to say. Although this kind of attitude does not predominate yet, it is nevertheless growing. It is not the avowed opponents of the reform whom I fear the most, but a certain inertia that is still present somewhere in the party apparatus. To people with this sort of attitude, it is all the same what happens, as long as they can endure it as calmly as possible.

There is another matter I would like to point out. The best possible shape of the program put forth by the sixth plenum should be accepted and implemented. But post-Solidarity movements immediately commence their activity and new ideas appear about creating political parties (such as the Polish Socialist party right now). The party speaks about freedom of association, but this is interpreted as freedom to form political parties. Such reactions push the party toward caution, and sometimes even toward a retreat.

[Machura] So one has to understand that there is caution during the making of specified decisions.

[Stachura] Yes, because it is easy for someone like me, who makes no political decisions but merely examines and comments about them, to speak about all this, but not so easy for a decisionmaker. In such a situation, a decisionmaker may hesitate, realizing that his own decisions may have repercussions. One has to understand that our country's future depends on the party, and draw the necessary conclusions. Is this understood inside and outside the party? It is difficult to say for sure. In any case, the most enlightened people who have penetrated the essence of the matter are concerned that the party should be most wise, most fair, most mature, most strong, and most open to progress. Everyone concerned

about the good of Poland wants this. Unfortunately, in practice we see how the upper hand is gained either by considerations of prestige, or ambition, or some other odd and devious material-political motivations that have nothing at all to do with Poland's interests.

Jan 21 Sejm Session Agenda Outlined

LD141045 Warsaw PAP in English
0118 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, January 13—The Polish Sejm (Parliament) is going to hold its 29th meeting on January 21.

The daily agenda of the meeting, to start at 10.00 a.m., envisages: a report by a Sejm committee on drafts of the 1988 budget law, a resolution on the 1988 state balance of payments, a resolution of the credit plan, a balance-sheet of the population's money incomes and expenditure and the assumptions of the 1988 money and credit policy, a resolution on the plan for the 1988 central culture development fund, a resolution on the plan for the 1988 state fund for vocational activization, a resolution on the plan for the fund to service the foreign debt in 1988, a resolution on the plan for the 1988 central fund to develop science and technology, and a report by Sejm committees on a government draft law on the council for the protection of monuments to struggle and martyrdom. The agenda envisages also deputies' question time.

Barcikowski Discusses Local Election Law

LD141939 Warsaw PAP in English
1841 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—Vice-President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski met with Polish and foreign newsmen at the interpress press centre here today. Statements and questions focused on the tenets of the draft new people's councils election law. Here are the main theses as presented by Kazimierz Barcikowski.

—It is an obvious truth, though it does not reach everyone, that not only the population but also the authorities in Poland are vitally interested in deepening and preserving the processes of democratization of life, in expanding the people's participation in all forms of exercising authority, in development of social involvement. He who fails to see this or who treats our strivings as a propaganda manoeuvre will not understand why the so-called underground in Poland proceeds towards a breakdown and social isolation.

—Our basic objective is to create a democratic socialist society.

—Our point consists not only in people's freedom to speak their minds for it is a common practice now. We would rather be for sensible actions to achieve what is realistic and feasible, for people's personal involvement in deciding on the fate of their environ, their village or town.

—In all general elections the world over political parties play a key-role in suggesting nominees. Such is the case in Poland as well. The council of State's interpretation broadens the constitutional wording that "nominees are forwarded by parties and public organizations of the working people."

—We shall consistently implement the democratic premises included in the referendum's second question. All these strivings will be reflected in the text of Poland's new constitution, which is to be completed in 2-3 years.

—New forms of democracy must be implemented, and not just announced or imposed. Our orientation is for gradual transformations, for a consistently executed process of changes, but without radical or merely spectacular measures.

—The discussion of the tenets of the draft people's councils election law will soon be recapitulated. It will be then that the tenets will be tabled with the Sejm for further processing.

—We have encountered first "shouts" of feedback to the said election law from small opposition groups. As usual, the opposition prejudges everything in advance, condemns, disassociates itself, and the like. Rejecting any proposal has become a modus operandi for the people of opposition circles. This, however, is a manifestation of hardly serious approach to serious issues.

Replying to questions by newsmen, Kazimierz Barcikowski said:

—The citizen has several ways of expressing his opinion about the nominees for people's councillors. Non-participation in the elections is a passive form of that. Nevertheless, he may first present his views on the forum of the organization which proposed a nominee or air it during the meeting with nominees. I cannot think of a situation where a nominee would be placed on the list if he evokes reservations from broader social groups.

PUWP Meeting Held on Enterprise Restructuring

LD140114 Warsaw PAP in English
2220 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—PUWP CC Political Bureau yesterday acquainted themselves with the state of works on the post-referendum modifications to the programme of the economic reform's second stage. They consist in allowing for the public opinion on the scope and degree of radicality of the proposed solutions. Moreover, the programme was expanded and enriched with instruments enhancing, among other things, the growth of market production, services, and house-building.

The bureau was positive about the proposed corrections in the investment programme. An opportunity emerges to obtain results which are likely to corroborate market balance in the coming years.

The PUWP will aggressively support the implementation of the new stage. The bureau recommended that enterprises be immediately instructed about the new parameters and economic mechanisms required in making new production plans for 1988.

The Political Bureau heard opinions and conclusions following out of last year's visits by party leadership members to enterprises. They positively evaluated the to-date experience of partner brigades and other forms of team-like organization of work. These may play an important role in improving the efficiency of the economy, bring about major social advantages.

Enterprises, the bureau said, should be given more liberty in dividing their profit. The bureau recommended to utilize and give a significant role to the forms of group system of work in the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

The bureau said that the utilization of the frequently high-tech machinery and the abilities of engineers, technicians, and workers is still unsatisfactory when compared with the needs.

The Political Bureau decided to return, on one of its upcoming meetings, to the questions of the widely-understood technological and organizational progress and party tasks in this field. It discussed the practical application of the personnel policy principles and recognized that, whatever the positive changes, the application is still strongly differentiated.

What has been so far done cannot satisfy. The party must become a driving force of a modern approach to the cadres. Speeding up the pace of young cadres promotion requires a more radical action by party links and authorities as well as state organs, enterprises, and social organizations, the bureau said.

While accepting the programmatic and organizational guidelines for the seventh PUWP CC plenary meeting, the Political Bureau emphasized that it would provide a convenient possibility to ponder the best way of using the qualification and talents of the cadres, eliminating any difficulties, and winning over the valuable fry.

The Political Bureau acquainted themselves with the course of the meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and the activists of a social anti-alcoholic committee and with the effects of their work, including those following out of the law on upbringing in sobriety and countering alcoholism.

The bureau supported the plans included in the resolution of the sixth nationwide congress of the anti-alcoholic association.

Jaruzelski Receives Anti-Alcohol Activists

LD071805 Warsaw PAP in English
1723 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received a group of activists of the Social Anti-Alcohol Committee who briefed him on the forms and methods of activities pursued by branches of the committee throughout Poland and on the results of activities aimed at putting into effect the law on upbringing in sobriety and countering alcoholism.

The decisions taken in this matter at the meeting of the PUWP CC Political Bureau on July 28, 1987 strengthened the social anti-alcohol movement and unequivocally pointed to the will and determination of the highest political authorities in the struggle against this dangerous plague.

The president of the Council of State stressed the necessity to decisively eliminate alcohol from work establishments as well as the special importance of educating the young generation in sobriety.

He pointed out that alcohol hinders the implementation of a score of projects in the field of social and economic life. The evaluation of cadres should be more rigorous as regards the implementation of the law on upbringing in sobriety and countering alcoholism.

The participants in the meeting agreed that considerable progress in limiting alcoholism could be achieved through, above all, the concordant cooperation of state bodies and various social forces, including church institutions.

OPZZ Drops Coal Dispute Case

LD140227 Warsaw PAP in English
1905 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 13—The case filed against the government by the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) with the constitutional tribunal on the purchase by enterprises of coal within the system of monetary equivalents for coal entitlements, which was scheduled for January 15th, has been dropped.

During today's session of the OPZZ's National Council, its Chairman Alfred Miodowicz said that the hearing had been abandoned since the Council of Ministers has decided to cross out this controversial paragraph from its 1987 resolution on the limitations in the supply of fuel for the population between 1987 and 1990.

In view of this situation the tribunal's chairman, Prof. Alfons Klafkowski, decided to call off the hearing.

Let us recall that the OPZZ, speaking for the National Trade Union Organizations, deemed the clause under dispute to be discordant with the collective labour agreements currently in force.

Steps To Combat Fuel Shortage Outlined

LD142311 Warsaw PAP in English
2137 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14—The continuing shortage of engine fuels in Poland—though not as severe as in the last quarter of 1987—is caused mainly by too low crude oil processing, it was said at a meeting at Poland's Ministry for Industry here today.

In 1987 refineries processed 14.3 million tonnes of crude oil, that is 11.4 million tonnes less than in 1980, when they had processed 16.1 million. Meanwhile, the number of lorries, passenger cars, and tractors grew during that period by 70 percent, without mentioning the number of harvesting combines, and other agricultural and construction machinery and equipment propelled by combustion engines.

A decision was taken recently to raise refinery output against last year's figure by about a million tonnes. Plans are to process 3.8 million tonnes of crude oil in the first quarter of this year, a move which is expected to bring noticeable stabilisation to the fuel market.

After panic buying in the 4th quarter of the past year, the hardest shortage occurred in diesel oil supplies, it was said at the meeting. The government gave extra money for imports of the lacking amounts of oil thus increasing the supplies by over 100 thousand tonnes. Throughout the last year diesel oil supplies were 23 percent higher than in 1986 and in the 4th quarter alone by 46 percent higher than in the analogous period in 1986.

Farmers Dissatisfied With Farming Progress

AU081158 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 5 Jan 88 p 2

[Rys commentary: "Taking the Bull by the Horns"]

[Text] What to do? What to produce? Does it pay to buy more land? Or would it be better to pack it up and get a paid job? These questions continue to recur in discussions about the profitability of farm production.

The talks in the ZSL gmina circles in anticipation of the coming 10th ZSL Congress indicate that something has begun to go wrong in the present economic system of farming. It is true, farmers say, that we now produce 31 quintals of cereals per hectare on the average, but at what cost?

What the rural areas lack above all is production equipment, especially chemical resources. Considerable investment neglects are the hallmark of food production, because only 30 percent of the planned investments have been realized in the 2 years of the present 5-year plan. Farmers spend their nights waiting in lines for engine oil and coal. The shortfall of coal amounted to 2.5 million tonnes in 1987. All these problems are millstones round the profitability neck of some sectors of farm production.

The notorious 85:100 parity of incomes between rural and nonrural populations means that life in rural areas is tougher. Some experts call this situation critical, but the Ministry of Agriculture takes the view that, for example, the present slaughter of cows amounts to streamlining milk production by making room for cows with larger milk output. But would it not be better to take the bull by the horns and decide how to halt the drop in the contracted procurement of livestock by 20 percent compared with 1986?

The 10th ZSL Congress theses generally define as threats these troubles, which must be eliminated as soon as possible in order to prevent any difficulties in food production. Whether these difficulties will appear in the coming years depends not so much on declarations as on a concrete and cohesive system of economic instruments (why no such system exist?). Young farmers need turnover and investment loans, but these loans must be available for the asking and must not be hedged with virtually impossible difficulties.

As the 4 January press conference in the ZSL Supreme Committee confirmed, we will soon know whether the active policy of farm produce procurement or the solutions of the National Economic Council are correct. One thing is certain: The policy of farm produce procurement prices may now trigger incentives for further production. Any other outcome bears no thinking....

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting 14 Jan

AU142033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2016 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/1/1988—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP met on January 14 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, to analyze the way action was taken for the fulfilment of the plan for the first decade of January, and the steps taken for the integral fulfilment of the plan provisions for the current month and for the whole first quarter of 1988.

From the results presented by the prime minister, by first deputy prime ministers and deputy prime ministers of the government it appears that the fulfilment of the plan tasks started all over the country, with fine results scored in a number of sectors of the national economy, better than in the same period of last year. However, in some branches, departments and enterprises the adequate and timely settlement was not ensured for all problems related to the good organization and run of production and the results were therefore below possibilities.

Referring to the way in which action was taken in the first decade of January, the general secretary of the RCP requested that every conclusion be drawn from the activity deployed, from the analysis made at the meeting, and steps be taken without delay for coping with the arrears and for the exemplary fulfilment of the plan tasks for January, for the first quarter and the whole year.

The RCP general secretary assessed that every condition was at hand for the plan provisions to be integrally fulfilled.

The Executive Political Committee analysed and passed measures for the setting up, administration and use of the state's centralized foreign-currency fund.

According to the decision of the Executive Political Committee, there will be worked out the final forms of the income and spending budgets of the central units and of all the enterprises, in January.

The Executive Political Committee looked into and passed proposals for setting up, organizing and running the Ministry of Farm Produce Contracting and Aquisition. The task of the newly created Ministry is to carry out the party and state policy in point of contracts on and acquisition of vegetal agricultural products, forming the state's centralized fund of such products, forming and preserving the state reserves of farm foods and producing fodder concentrate.

Next, the Executive Political Committee passed proposals regarding the organization of an all-country conference of the people's council chairmen, and of the county conference of the deputies to the municipal, town and commune people's councils. The all-country conference was established to proceed over 3-5 March, 1988.

All-European Reunion Proposals

AU142036 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2021 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/1/1988—During its 14 January meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP passed proposals regarding Romania's participation in the fifth stage of the all-European reunion in Vienna.

In full agreement with the foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, the orientations, initiatives and demarches of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian delegation will work, according to its mandate, for the reunion to proceed in a constructive spirit, for generally-acceptable solutions to be found to the questions under discussion, so that the Vienna conference may end in best results and contribute to the implementation of disarmament, to strengthening European confidence and security, to the development of economic, technological, scientific and other cooperation in the European continent and all over the world.

Mining Equipment Achievements Reported

AU141833 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1500 GMT 14 Jan 88

["Romanian Mining Equipment Industry Develops"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/1/1988—The share of mining equipment manufactured in Romania which match the world's best has grown remarkably in the last few years: 69 per cent in 1985, 75.3 per cent in 1986, 82 per cent in 1987. Standard and module-made equipment represented 57 per cent in 1985 and 62 per cent in 1987 in the total production of this industry.

Since 1982 Romania's production of mining equipment has doubled owing also to the degree of using production units—from 70 to 98.3 per cent. New units and modern technological lines were put on stream at Petrosani, Satu-Mare, Carei, Negresti-Oas, Timisoara, Baia Mare. Special stress has been laid on the achievement of easier access to the worn-out parts of the main mechanisms so that the possible repairs should last shortly. A network of units manufacturing spare parts and of work-shops for their reconditioning was perfected.

The scientific research team working in the domain that includes over 1,300 inventors attested as such by the Romanian office for inventions and trademarks provides the due technical materials. In a relatively short period of time the mining equipment industry assimilated new types of highly productive and efficient equipment like the whole range of supports and mechanized faces for the exploitation of 1.3-4 meters deep layers,

advancing combines, re-drifting outfit, drilling installations, electro-hydraulic drills for hard and madium-abrasive rocks, extraction machinery, mine engines, 1,200-mm wide conveyor belts, scrapers, loading and unloading machines, caterpillar excavators, dumpers. A wide range of grinders, of equipment for the preparation of useful mineral substances, the completion of the range of equipment for mining layers of 4-to-5 m, for pit-coal and lig te mines, the manufacture of new equipment and the elaboration of better technologies for rock consolidation are to be assimilated, adding to which are also new devices for combined operations—flotation and hydrometallurgy, with a view to better using lean ores and by-products.

Special attention is given to raising the reliability, quality and competitiveness of equipment. Worth mentioning is the fact that the export of mining equipment increased 3.5 times in 1987 from 1985. They are highly appreciated in the USSR, China, Poland, the GDR, Turkey, Bolivia, a.o. The growing export demands are another proof of the ever higher level of the Romania production of mining equipment.

Vaduva Meets FRG's Kohl, Genscher in Bonn

AU142012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2004 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn, AGERPRES, 14/01/1988—From President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, a message of salute was conveyed to the chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl, as well as best wishes of good health, personal happiness and success, of prosperity and peace to the people in that country.

Expressing warm thanks for the message, the federal chancellor asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed cordial wishes of good health and personal happiness, of success in his entire activity, and wishes of progress and prosperity to the Romanian people.

The exchange of messages took place when the federal chancellor received Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, now visiting the Federal Republic of Germany.

While in West Germany, the Romanian minister had talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and foreign minister with Martin Bangemann, federal minister of economics, with Wolfgang Schaueuble, federal minister, head of the Federal Chancellory, and discussed with executives of partner companies in West Germany, to boost economic exchanges between the latter and Romanian foreign trade enterprises.

Gorbachev To Visit in 'Next Few Months'
LD141226 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1157 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—We expect that General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev will visit Yugoslavia "within the next few months," Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic told a press conference here today.

Stanic said preparations for the visit were in progress, but the exact date for it had not been fixed yet.

Soviet Youth Delegation Pays Visit
LD131820 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—A three-member delegation of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol of the USSR, which is led by Viktor Ivanovich Mironenko, first secretary of its Central Committee, arrived on an official and friendly visit in Belgrade today at the invitation of the Presidium of the Conference of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation.

The Soviet youth delegation will lay flowers at the tomb of Josip Broz Tito, and it will also have talks with representatives of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Assembly. The guests from the USSR will also have a meeting with students at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade and will also visit the youth shoe factory in Dobanovci.

Mojsov Receives Message of Thanks From Reagan
LD141329 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received a message from U.S. President Ronald Reagan, containing expressions of gratitude for the support that the SFRY Presidency gave to the U.S.-Soviet treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, including their warheads.

The message stresses, inter alia, that the signing of the treaty was a historic moment in the efforts to enhance international security, as this is the first time in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations that a treaty provides for the reduction in the nuclear arsenals and not just their limitation. President Reagan positively assessed his talks with the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington. In reference to the prospects for a new summit meeting, President Reagan also expressed a desire to see U.S.-Yugoslav dialogue continue.

Bulgarian Delegation Visits Zajecar
AU151130 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 88 p 4

[D. Vitomirovic report: "A Step Ahead of Protocol"]

[Text] For the seventh time in a row and for the first time since reports of the beginning of "Bulgarian perestroyka," a delegation from the BCP Municipal Committee of Vidin stayed recently in Zajecar. The delegates were guests of the Zajecar Communal Organization of the LC of Serbia.

Cooperation began in 1980 at the initiative of the Commission for International Cooperation of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. It was planned as part of the total cooperation between the LCY and the BCP. The original aim was to begin developing mutually favorable relations, primarily through familiarization with and the conveying of information about each country's forms and methods of party activity, as well as through an exchange of experience. Contact over several years has made the clarification of some points necessary: What does each side have to offer? Should cooperation be of a purely verbal, superficial [manifestacioni], and informative nature? How much has it contributed to the thawing of relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY in recent years?

The contents and methods of cooperation, as well as the subjects for the mutual exchange of information, have until now been established with special protocols.

During the visit of the Zajecar Communal Committee of the LC of Serbia to Vidin, the themes for discussion were formulated by the hosts thus: "The work of the Vidin Municipal Committee in the improvement of the work of party sessions," "The influence of the party leadership on the application of scientific-technological achievements in the economy," and "The achievements in fulfilling the BCP Municipal Committee program for the transformation of Vidin into an exemplary socialist town."

The Zajecar LC Communal Committee Commission for International and Interstate Relations asserted that this 7-year "cooperation had been in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect, that the talks on subjects from the protocol had been influential in increasing knowledge about the basic assumptions of the social structure of the SFRY and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which was useful to both sides." It was also stressed that "seen in a wider context, cooperation of this kind also positively influenced a further development of good-neighborly relations between the SFRY and the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

However, there is the impression that cooperation has, until now, been moving along only one track and that the chosen subjects in the protocol were quite far removed from real life.

Local border traffic has stagnated at a low level for more than 10 years and cooperation in the field of tourism is virtually nonexistent. Neither do workers collectives cooperate, and there is also a limited number of participants at the traditional people's rallies....

Italy Agrees to Greater 'Financial Opening'

LD142305 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2206 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Rome, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—Members of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Chamber of Deputies in the Italian Parliament agreed this evening on a greater technological and financial opening to the Yugoslav economy. The commission adopted a memorandum which should be signed in Rome during the forthcoming visit to Italy of Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic scheduled for January 28 and 29.

Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti said that Italy is prepared to facilitate the repayment of Yugoslavia's debts, invest in joint projects for the production of goods intended for export and to open more to scientific and technological cooperation.

Andreotti said that Italy will invest efforts towards ensuring this support to Yugoslavia also in talks with the European Economic Community.

Yugoslavia has an outstanding importance for Italy as an independent and non-aligned country with an important role in Europe's security and balance, Italian Communist Party leadership member Giorgio Napolitano said in the Parliament debate. Napolitano stressed the importance of Italy's support to Yugoslavia which in current difficulties, as he said, must not stay isolated.

Citizen's Imprisonment in Chad Protested

LD141500 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1316 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 14 (TANJUG)—The detention of Yugoslav citizen Rade Zelenovic, 58, in N'djamena is largely surprising [words indistinct] with a view to both his poor health and friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Chad, Yugoslav Government spokesman Aleksandar Stanic said today.

Zelenovic has not been released despite the fact that the Yugoslav ambassador in Lagos has had talks with responsible Chadian officials in N'djamena on two occasions, Stanic added.

Official N'djamena is procrastinating without justification to release Zelenic, who was abducted from Libya's territory and taken to Chad on September 5 last year, said Stanic.

Gernout Wauer, a citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany, was seized together with Zelenovic, who worked as a mechanic for a West German firm where Wauer was his chief. Chadian authorities released Wauer after 47 days.

LCY Central Committee Considers Amendments

Zarkovic Press Briefing

LD142225 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2013 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Text] Belgrade, January 14 (TANJUG)—Changes in Yugoslavia's Federal Constitution seek to cut any further strengthening of statism and to enable its political system to contribute as efficiently as possible to overcoming the economic crisis, Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, said in a talk with foreign journalists here today.

Zarkovic informed the foreign press about a debate yesterday before the LCY Central Committee on draft constitutional amendments. By its plenary session, the LCY Central Committee got included in a public debate on documents passed by the Federal Assembly towards last year's end.

The plenum's support for the ideological side of the draft amendments does not at all mean that concrete solutions cannot be bettered, widened or reshaped in a public debate to be held until next April's end, Zarkovic said.

The public debate is to be organized and summed up by the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia' largest mass sociopolitical organization.

Zarkovic saw the Communists' principal task in the public debate in opposition to efforts whose essence lies in introducing a bourgeois parliamentary system or in return to state socialism.

In reply to the question of a possibility for introducing a referendum on constitutional amendments, mentioned in the Yugoslav public, Zarkovic said that the supreme act of state does not provide for its being changed in that way.

"The Constitution is an agreement among the peoples on conditions in which to live in the federation. A majority decision-making made [word indistinct] through a referendum would be tantamount to imposing conditions on some of the peoples," Zarkovic said.

Yugoslavia's constituent republics and provinces have a sovereign right to solve by their constitutions matters within their competence, Zarkovic said, emphasizing that their constitutions must be in harmony with the federal Constitution.

Committee Session

LD132230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 13 Jan 88

[excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee is today considering the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution and conclusions on the tasks of Communists in the public debate about this important document. The introductory report was submitted by Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The first participant in the debate—and right at the beginning of the session about 20 Central Committee members indicated their intention to speak—was Lambe Jovanovski.

The proposed constitutional changes correspond to the working class and its interests, Jovanovskiy said, stressing that therefore each working word in the public debate will have to be respected. The debate must be widely drawn, public and democratic and conducted among workers, because only through this will the changed Constitution be able to become a working and popular one. The LC must show great revolutionary spirit, unity, and energy in the debate.

Workers are prepared, Jovanovski said, to make a contribution toward finding a way out of the crisis. We are aware that with the changes we will acquire more democracy, direct self-management, and more responsibility in work which, he mentioned, is never any problem for workers.

Ante Markovic devoted most of his discussion to changes in the sphere of socioeconomic relations. Recalling that he has been a participant in the 7 months of work on the constitutional changes, he said that no one has the right in this society to irrationally use resources of a social character. Likewise, no one has the right on this basis to keep his workplace or his position. He also believes that there must be greater scope for a true circulation of resources but not in such a way that someone is able to benefit afterward illegally from these resources. On this basis there ought to be scope for the greater participation of foreign capital, opening up space for the formation of free customs zones and for engaging those vital foreign funds, as well as the funds of our citizens, which are essential for expanded reproduction.

Without waiting for changes to the Constitution and not seeking in them an amnesty for what we are not doing, Markovic said, we must, even during the debate, start making all the changes that serve the proposed solutions and that are in keeping with the constitutional solutions to date. And this must be done immediately by the working class, organizations of associated labor, and by municipalities, the republics and the federation. He said that the draft conclusions are not an enactment that mobilizes the party and working class to accomplish changes as they go along.

Franc Setinc spoke about the significance of the criteria that would make it possible for Communists to assess the starting bases of individual proposed constitutional solutions and aims and prevent repetitions of unproductive divisions and polarizations in public discussions. Without clear criteria in a mass of initiatives and proposals, promises, even options, the sense of that which we are working toward would be lost, that is, the increased role of associated labor, strengthening of national equality and bases for establishing ties between progressive social forces in all parts of Yugosalvia and a way out toward world progress, Setinc said. [passage omitted]

It is an indisputable truth that there cannot be a modern federation if at the same time we do not strengthen the independence and responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own destiny and joint development and efficient activity of the federation. We should never forget that we have two types of self-determination—national and self-managing, which makes a united entity. The dilemma of whether Yugoslavia is primarily a community of sovereign nations or republics, or whether it is primarily a community of self-managing working people in associated labor is unacceptable, since both are dialectically linked rather than opposed. Nor should we separate the class feature from the national if we wish to avoid lethal deformations and conflicts that are difficult to solve. [passage omitted]

The political center must have greater authority and prestige, but this should not be achieved through increasing its power, but through quality of work and responsibility accompanied by less opportunism toward unprincipled pressures, Setinc said.

The proposed amendments that should contribute to the strengthening of the equality of nations and nationalities must also ensure that nations and nationalities are fully involved in and are responsible for the strengthening of all the SFRY, the realization of intranational equality and strengthening of Yugoslavia as a shared country, Sinan Hasani said, stressing that: "We must pull ourselves out of general discussions and turn our society into a community, which through continuous, steady actions strengthens its material basis, its self-managing socialist relations, and creates a better life and security for all citizens, and thus enhances its prestige inside and outside the country." [passage omitted]

The primary task of this Central Committee and of the republican and provincial leaderships of the LC is to struggle for the ideological and political unity of the LCY, so that in the present conditions in a public discussion and during the preparation of constitutional changes it would be capable of uniting the most progressive social awareness for a way out of the crisis, Bogdan Trifunovic said. [passage omitted]

The proposed constitutional changes do not ignore the economic crisis and with it the long-term economic stabilization program as well. They are designed not only

to bring the country out of the crisis but also to construct a constitutional system that will survive the economic crisis, Svetomir Skaric said. [passage omitted]

On the basis of work up until now on the constitutional changes, it can be envisaged that in the public debate on constitutional changes there will be a mutual conflict between two approaches—the restrictive and the extensive. The former insist on limited and narrow constitutional changes, and the latter on more broadly based and profound changes in the sociological sense of the word. Both these approaches have their foundation both in the SFRY Prsidency proposal to set about constitutional changes and in the draft conclusions that were proposed to this Central Committee. We must be aware of this, Skaric stressed.

The champions of the restrictive approach, he added, are for the time being offering the weaker arguments, are threatening to block the constitutional changes and are taking acount more of their own interests. In contrast to this, the champions of the sociological approach are offering more reasoned arguments, are offering a greater degree of tolerance and are taking more account of the broader interests of Yugoslav society.

The conflict between these two approaches can be resolved successfully only by the method of qualified and well-argued debate that takes account of Yugoslav society as a whole.

On the basis of the number of frequency of questions that have been raised so far in the elaboration of the draft, Skaric concludes that it can be assumed with great certainty that four questions will dominate the public debate or will occupy a primary place in the list of priorities.

The first question is raised by a broad group of economists who believe that social ownership in the conditions of commodity production must have the character of social capital that is reproduced in crude and expanded proportions. The solutions proposed in the draft amendments only partially satisfy these demands of theirs. And in the assessment of Skaric, there will be a considerable polarization of views in the public debate on precisely this question.

The second is raised by the public at large and a sizeable group of scientific workers, in particular the group of prominent philosophers and political scientists at Zagreb University who believe that at the level of the federation, for Marxist reasons, it is necessary to intorduce a chamber of associated labor or an assembly of Yugoslav workers' councils.

The third question is raised by a group of sicentific workers in the sphere of constitutional law who believe that members of the SFRY presidency should be elected by the SFRY Assembly and not by the republican and provincial assemblies. The SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Questions has rejected in a well-argued way the proposal that members of this organ be elected directly by working people and citizens in the republics and provinces, because this method of election would introduce even greater elements of confederalism in our federative system.

The fourth question is raised by political structures in the SR of Serbia and by a broad group of scientific workers in this republic who believe that the autonomous provinces should express themselves more as a constituent part of the SR of Serbia and less as a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation. This demand of theirs respects the irrefutable fact that the republics have a primary role in the creation of the Yugoslav federation and that their equal position has a fateful effect on the stability and further development of the Yugoslav federation. They are pleased by the information about the agreement achieved between competent organs of the SR of Serbia and competent organs of both provinces in connection with the establishment of proposals by the Presidency of this republic to set about changes to the constitution of the SR of Serbia, Skaric stressed.

In the opinion of Milojko Drulovic the aim of the constitutional changes is to find the best solutions instead of the provisions that in practice hampered the implementation of fundamental social orientations. Instead of centralized capital in the republics and provinces, there should above all be affirmation of the pooling of labor and resources. The other key question that the constitutional changes should address is the realization of the concept of the federation which, Drulovic believes, has moved between two tendencies, centralism, and the polycentric statism of the republics and provinces.

The motivation for the participation of working people in the public debate is, in the opinion of Drulovic, not only their interest in unity and an efficient democratic community but also in the implementation of their own interests within it. The debate will bring with it different opinions of which, he said, we ought to be tolerant. It would be harmful, however, if the differences expressed up until now in the work on the constitutional amendments were to be automatically transferred to the public debate. [passage omitted]

Drulovic also noted the danger of political manipulation in the debate. Here he sees especially an aspiration to defend at all costs everything that is written in the amendments, or for individual political-management structures to manipulate the public discussion. It would also be dangerous, in his view, if political executive organs of the LC assumed for themselves the "commanding" positions in the implementation of the constitutional discussion and forgot the SAWPY. [passage omitted]

Azem Vlasi pointed out that the desired aim and results of constitutional changes can be realized only if they are firmly founded in the orientations contained in the basic principles of the present Constitution. Without in any way questioning the existing constitutional position of the republics and provinces in our federal system, we should see how to strengthen the unity of Yugoslavia by affirming the responsibility of the republics and provinces for the development and stability of themselves as well as for the whole country. According to Vlasi, we should oppose with the same kind of consistency separatist, particularist, unitarist, and centralistic-bureaucratic trends and concepts which, in particular in the conditions of the crisis and lack of unity, are being offered as salutary solutions. Each unitarist-centralist trend devalues and discourages the efforts toward strengthening unity and causes fear and suspicion of a possible restoration of the relations of hegemony and inequality. In the same way, Vlasi added, we must be aware that separatism and particularism are not a solution in the face of unitarist centralist trends and dangers. On the contrary, they can also feed this danger, actually one trend feeds another, he stressed. [passage omitted]

Work on constitutional changes should offer an opportunity for strengthening unity rather than an opportunity for disagreements and quarrels about redistribution of authority in the area of power. Polemics and democratic discussion can strengthen us and help us to enhance in front of working class and the world our otherwise tarnished prestige.

It is clear that the crisis also hides great dangers for socialist democratic relations. Under the pressure of the consequences of the crisis, even certain strata of working masses because of impatience and anxiety are sometimes ready to support even those solutions that are offered through a shortcut under emergency procedures. [passage omitted]

At the last LCY Congress, it was established that the basic contradiction of our society is the conflict between statism and self-management, but since the congress, statism has continued to grow, and because of this, Nandor Major asks the question of whether what is being proposed in the amendments is a real break with statist relations. Not a break with the state, because we will need it, and a more efficient state than the present one for a long time to come. Rather a break with a domination of statist relations, he said.

In his opinion, it is impossible to curb statism only through a direct intervention in the economic sphere, as proposed in constitutional amendments. Without a change in all spheres, in overall relations, therefore, in the model of social reproduction, it seems to me that the motto about a way out of the crisis through development would become unreal and unrealized, Major stressed. [passage omitted]

The experience so far in the functioning of the federation as a federal state and socialist self-managing community should be analyzed comprehensively and critically in order to prevent vetoing and the preponderance of partial over general Yugoslav interests, Antun Lukezic stressed. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the proposed changes in the sphere of all-people's defense, Lukezic stressed that the 1974 Constitution provides a sufficiently wide framework for further development of all-people's defense on the bases of Tito's original orientations. He also assessed that there is no need to seek solutions based on different principles.

Members of the Army share the conviction that constitutional changes would, in their totality, contribute to a further socialization of all-people's defense, through strengthening the unity of all defense forces of society, which will make it possible to increase the overall defense potential of society and its capability to oppose effectively all attempts to undermine the constitutional order, sovereignty, and integrity of the country, Lukezic said. [passage omitted]

Both the LCY and its Central Committee must accept the fact that as a result of the existing situation a section of the public is convinced that our salvation lies in state socialism or in legalizing capitalist relations in Yugoslav society, and there are groups and individuals who are determined to prove this, Petar Matic noted. Ideas and views about the need as well as calls among the public for relations in the SFRY to be arranged in the manner and according to procedure that is contrary to the Constitution, the achievements of the national liberation war, and socialist revolution should not come as a surprise to us but should give cause for concern. We must not be flippant over the fact, Matic stressed, that the idea is gaining ground in a part of society about the futility of coexistence while, at the same time, misconceptions are being fueled to the effect that relations in the Yugoslav community could be arranged through politicization, pressures, outvoting, referendum, and other means. [passage omitted]

Public debate and overall future activity on the changes to the Constitution should take into account our past experience of what made us lag behind and of the causes behind growing statism and the weakening cohesion of the Yugoslav socialist community. To identify the causes and to display a greater degree of determination in eliminating problems are essential factors of enhancing confidence and opening up prospects for developing and consolidating our unity, Mato Andric stressed. [passage omitted]

As regards the SR of Serbia and the coming changes in its Constitution, Milosevic added, we have at this stage succeeded in reaching agreement on all the issues contained in the proposals for changing the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. Although only an initial one, this was

also a major step in the process of the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, Milosevic stressed. We have a hard job ahead of us and we are determined to carry it out through concerted efforts and in accordance with the interests of the Serbian nation and other nations and nationalities living in the SR of Serbia and for the benefit of their equality, brotherhood, and unity, and socialst self-management. Without in any way questioning the autonomy of the provinces, he stressed, Serbia will adhere to its right to be a republic. My message for those forces outside Serbia, which by manipuating the argument on the republic's specific nature wish to deprive it of its right to be a republic, is that their arguments will never be accepted by people in Serbia. In that sense they have no one in Serbia with whom to enter into coalition.

The way in which the SR of Serbia is constituted will be decided by people living there, in line with the Yugoslav Constitution, just as people do in other Yugoslav republics. This applies particularly in the case of economic and other difficulties whose solution does not jeopardize the interests of other republics, of other nations and nationalities, and of other people in Yugoslavia in general. In any case, Milosevic said, those who are at the moment most prominent in offering their help are those who have no right whatsoever to concern themselves with relations within Serbia. According to Milosevic, these include a number of foreign journalists, even some editorial boards in the country, nationalists, political emigres, remnants of the bourgeoisie in the country, and also some dissatisfied politicians who believe that they have to leave politics too early despite the fact that, to our and their own detriment, they were involved in it unsuccessfully for several decades. A united and stable Socialist Republic of Serbia is a powerful mainstay and an asset to Yugoslavia's unity and stability. And the unity and stability of Yugoslavia are in the interest of its citizens. The unity and stability that we want to achieve in Yugoslavia annoy no one except our enemies both in the country and abroad. We must for this reason win the battle for a developed and socialist Yugoslavia. We owe that not just to ourselves but to our children and all future generations, Slobodan Milosevic stressed. [passage omitted]

Dusan Dragosavac's message was that the activity surrounding the constitutional changes should be directed toward developing social ownership and self-management, and that in these spheres there is scope for a more useful division of duties between the provinces and the Republic of Serbia, between the Republics, provinces, and the federation. In the SFRY, either all are equal as citizens, human beings, as political nations and nationalities—or there can be equality for no one. Once the LC and the leaderships recognize this, Yugoslavia will be free and efficient, Dragosavac said.

Speaking on the issues of referendum, he stressed that that democratic legacy should not be abused, and that it could be applied neither to hegemonistic nor to separatist purposes. Neither is it possible for the majority to abdicate its responsibility for the minority.

Although he noted the shortcomings in the proposed amendments, Dragosavac nevertheless agreed that basically they are acceptable from the political viewpoint. However he recommended that the Central Committee speak out against the amendments on the country's international cooperation, insisting that the definitions are "impossible and in conflict with Yugoslavia's uniform foreign policy."

He also called on the Central Committee to support the idea of a chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly. Under his proposal every 4 years there would be a congress of self-managers at which a delegation, that is, the chamber of associated labor would be elected. This chamber would be equal with the other two.

Dragosavac also urged the LC to entrust its members and members of the LC in the SFRY Presidency, the FEC, and the SFRY Assembly with the task of examining the level of indebtedness and misdirected investment for each republic, province, and Yugoslavia in general.

It has to be discovered, he stressed, how in the 1975-80 period our debt rose to $21 billion, although only an 11-million debt had been planned, and how the documents for the 12th LCY Congress claimed that foreign debts at that time were less than 25 percent of our foreign currency earnings when, in fact, they amounted to almost 50 percent. [passage omitted]

In an extensive contribution to the discussion, Dragosavac spoke about disunity in the LCY, the deepening crisis, and exacerbated intranational relations and warned that a divided LCY will be incapable of developing simultaneously two historically linked processes—autonomy and integration. He thus insisted that the date be set for an LCY Central Committee session that would discuss the work of the Presidium and the Central Committee, and the situation in the country.

Later in the debate, Vidoje Zarkovic, on behalf of the working presidium, recommended that the Central Committee not give its view of Dusan Dragosavac's proposals on the amendments to the provisions about the country's international cooperation and the chamber of associated labor. He said that there had obviously been a disagreement over the interpretaton of the international cooperation amendment, its content, and formulation. According to Zarkovic, this amendment is, in fact, designed to make it even more obligatory for the republics and provinces to coordinate their international cooperation program within the framework of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. [passage omitted]

According to Steva Sogorov, the central question for the LC in a public discussion is the question of the attitude of Communists toward the content and framework of constitutional changes.

A failure to respect the framework and directions of changes, set by the proposal of the SFRY Presidency cannot, I believe, be met with any support in the LCY. We cannot emerge from the social crisis by creating a constitutional crisis and evading basic constitutional relations in society. On the contrary, we can do that only through their affirmation. Working toward wider frameworks, advocating LC support for all proposals and demands that have some general socialist and self-managing orientation, for example, is untenable not only from a constitutional and legal position, but is also politically unsuitable. [passage omitted]

Even the work to date on preparing texts of constitutional amendments has shown that among the proposed amendments the greatest attention will be attracted by those that demand the strengthening of the role of federal organs and organizations, Milica Ozbic said. Though we are all interested in clear definitions of federal functions in constitutional regulations, any strengthening of the role of the federal organs should also be viewed from a different angle, that is, to what extent is the strengthening of the rights and duties of the organs and organizations of the federation carried out to the detriment of the constitutional position of workers and citizens, the detriment of the equality of nations and nationalities, and their rights and responsibility in particular? [passage omitted]

Bosko Krunic stressed that our orientation is that the direction and content of constitutional and other social changes in the economic system should be measured against the orientations of the 13th congress. A normative transformation is certainly a significant act, but our constant problem, lack of coordination, will not be solved by norms themselves. This problem is being solved within the framework of many socioeconomic and political assumptions.

The problem of the LC today, he said, manifests itself in this. Expressions of working-class interests therefore depend not on declarations but on real social interests of those forces that actually hold power over income. We in the LC should recognize this so that we can affirm our responsibility and leading role. In this respect, the present image of the situation is unfavorable. Therefore the federation as well is being undermined when it is a matter of self-management and self-managing relations as fundamental relations of our overall social relations.

National interest are mostly represented by the ruling stratum that more or less identifies with the state. As a result of this trend, ties between national and class interests weaken, and confusions in this area arise.

Yugoslavia, as a federal state, can function successfully and develop only by opening spaces to self-management in the economic activity and political decisionmaking. Economic and market laws do not exclude self-management. Unfortunately, even today we have to stress this for the benefit of some people. This is a phoney anxiety over the destiny of socialist self-management. We always start from the fact, Krunic said, that self-management also presupposes responsibility for social property, for its increase, productivity, for maintaining and proving production on the market, and so forth. Those who do not seek this risk express their support for self-management through slogans. Constitutional changes refute such an image of socialism.

The way that is being set is a continuation of our revolutionary orientations and is based on the lasting values of Yugoslav socialist self-managing system and program ideas of socialism that the LCY defined a full three decades ago. We have no right, Krunic stressed, to keep silent about pedestrian voluntarism and suspicious doctines about other ways of realizing the unity of Yugoslavia as a community. We have no right to forget. Experience from our mistakes must be present as a correcting device before every deviation, from unitarism as much as from separatism. Nor is it a good thing to have the recently manifested situations in our political life, in our reaching of agreements, such as manifestations of vetoing, paralysis in the functioning of the federation, and so forth. Again there are manifestations of antagonism that are now particularly threatening and lethal, though naturally there should be differences. They must be solved in a more efficient, democratic and faster way, with a greater degree of feelings of responsibility of parts for the whole and of all for each in particular.

The Constitution should take into account the necessary cohesion of Yugoslav community on the bases of full equality. A great deal of the amendments, Krunic continued, are on the line of realizing a more efficient federation and self-managing decisionmaking in general. A public discussion will show whether all of this is sufficient.

There is a growing tendency to support quasi-national interests often inspired by the bureaucratic centers of decisionmaking and a distorted idea of what class and national interests are. This is where the warning of the monster of unitarism originates. This unitarism is allegedly gaining ground among the masses. Of course, it goes without saying that there is nothing unitarist in the desire of our nations and nationalities to live together within a stable community and in their view of that community as a guarantee and condition of their national and social interests. By the same token there is nothing separatist in the working people's, nations' and nationalities' commitment to safeguard their constitutional position, that is, the position of their national states and their autonomous sociopolitical communities. Recently we have seen ideas of the Yugoslavia from the time of the radical doctrine and practice being put forward and resurrected.

The long years of the struggle for socialist self-management and democratic socialist development have taught us to differentiate between things. Nevertheless, Krunic added, I would say that our task is less to attack these

tendencies and more to concentrate on our own mistakes. If we are more or at least to the same degree concerned over our own bureaucratism, our contribution to deformations in society and our own obstacles to the development of genuine self-management, then we have a guarantee that the LC can successfully change the situation.

The conclusions that we are to adopt today should serve as a document of instructions to help us organize our work and as a united approach to the constitutional changes. The draft of the amendments is in no way the final document on the changes. It will depend on the level of our organization and initiative to which extent the period ahead will be used for democratic debates within the Socialist Alliance. We have entered a phase of wide-ranging transformations and democratization in public life. The coming changes should be used to enhance and speed up this "driving force." This will be possible provided the public debate is used as a creative act, Bosko Krunic said.

Following an 8-hour debate in which 25 members of the Central Committee took part, the Central Committee adopted conclusions on the Communists' activity in the public debate. Slobodan Filipovic informed the Central Committee that the working group adopted all except one of the proposals for supplementing the conclusions.

The Central Committee members also adopted three working conclusions on the fulfillment of Communists' tasks in the public debate. The Central Committees in the republics and the provincial committees and the Yugoslav People's Army LC organization have been given the task of drawing up, on the basis of today's conclusions, immediate tasks facing Communists in the socialist alliance and delegate institutions, and of regularly informing the LCY Central Committee about their execution. The LCY Central Committee Presidium will closely monitor these activities and will regularly inform the Central Committee about them.

The conclusions will be submitted to the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency and will also be reported by the media.

At today's session Simeon Buncic was elected member and president of the LCY Central Committee's All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Commission. Simeon Buncic is replacing Stevan Mirkovic, who has become the chief of general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army. There has also been a change in the LCY Central Committee's History Commission: Vinko Hafner is elected new member to replace Dr Janko Pleterski.

Selani on Changes

AU141548 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 88 p 3

[R. Bajraktarevic report: "Nothing Without Togetherness"]

[Text] Pristina, 10 Jan—The agreed proposal of the SR of Serbia Presidency for changes in the republican Constitution and the most recently proposed measures will not affect the question of the present constitutional position of the provinces and their autonomy. The new principles of the Constitution do not reduce the autonomy of the provinces within the Republic but define the status of the SR of Serbia as a complex republic and sociopolitical entity.

This was said by Bajram Seljani, president of the Kosovo Presidency, in a talk with journalists before tomorrow's session of the Serbian Assembly.

"There is no reason why the Serbian Assembly should not reach agreement on the most recent proposals. Stands have been agreed upon. Differences in outlook have been overcome. A major task has been completed. Opponents will no doubt still attempt to impose different ideas, such as that of 'who has lost and who has won.'"

However, it is clear that those have lost who produced different ideas with other purposes in mind, foreign to the LCY program and the decisions of society, to our self-management of socialist, self-managing democracy, brotherhood, and unity, and the equality of all our peoples and nationalities, Seljani said. Pointing out that there is still the serious and involved task of preparing constitutional amendments, which could possibly bring new problems, Seljani said:

"There is no doubt that we will jointly achieve everything that we have fixed upon. We are faced with an enormous amount of work. We must clarify every question, so that we will all be clear about everything. There must be no optimism that we will achieve everything easily, but a favorable political climate has been created. We will all work together to emerge united in the whole of the Republic, which is very important. If working people and citizens grasp the essence of the matter, and if everything is properly explained to them, then there will be little scope for the spread of unacceptable tendencies on the part of our opponents."

Youth Official on LCY Presidium's Letter

AU141847 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 88 p 3

[Dragica Pusonjic report: "Daddy From the Lower Story"]

[Text] During the debate on the last item on the agenda at the session of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia [SYFY] held yesterday [5 January], it was said that the message (sent last June to the top Yugoslav youth leaders) by the LCY Central Committee Presidium has not influenced the members of the top youth leadership in terms of deciding about the cadre questions in connection with the election of the new SYFY president.

Many questions remained unanswered, however, including the one on why Ace Kocevski, former president of the federation and now member of the Presidium, initiated this debate only yesterday, after almost 8 months had passed. Special attention was paid to the following statement made by Goran Markovic, president of the SYFY Commission for Information:

"I have a new paper that is to be discussed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Debate on all this will, therefore, be held 'somewhere.' I am asking those people (meaning the members of the SYFY Presidium) who attend the sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to tell me whether the story is developing there according to this new paper containing newspaper clippings."

Asked by BORBA to explain his statement, Markovic said the following:

"At yesterday's session of the SYFY Presidium there were, unfortunately, some attempts to use the story about 'the press' in order to conceal a deeper political essence of the letter that arrived from the LCY Central Committee Presidium during the latest stage of the process of nominating candidates for the SYFY president."

It was in September, Markovic said, that the original version of the LCY Central Committee's document, which was discussed by the highest party leadership at its 16 June session, came into his possession. He stressed that it turned out only now that "in June members of the SYFY Presidium were not informed about the complete document prepared for the debate at the session of the party presidium, but only about its last 3 pages (out of the 21 the document had) containing some politically sensitive issues concerning the procedure of nominating candidates for the SYFY presidency."

"It seems that during the debate yesterday nobody in the SYFY knew that at the time when we held the debate on articles in the Yugoslav press on the said letter, the LCY Central Committee Presidium held a debate on the same question. As I am president of the SYFY Commission for Information, I obtained the documents discussed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium yesterday, because I had doubts about the 'coincidence.' This document is in fact the 'new paper' I spoke about at the SYFY Presidium session yesterday.

"The letter sent by the LCY Central Committee Presidium that mainly included newspapers clippings and was meant to favor Sandi Cesko, former member of the SYFY Presidium, and to crudely politically discredit Borut Suklje, member of the SYFY Presidium and of the LCY Central Committee, should have been discussed in June."

Markovic is of the opinion that the "letter" had been written by "somebody whose interest it is to meddle in the political autonomy of the SYFY as an independent sociopolitical organization." He then recalled Kocevski's statement that the fact that some members of the SYFY Presidium insist that a debate be held about this question is "an attempt to find out who the author is and that there is the suspicion that what is involved is the ideological office of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which also deals with questions of youth and is headed by Dr Stipe Suvar." Markovic added:

"The basis for such a position Kocevski had presumably found in our almost continuous disagreement with ideological concoctions such as 'bourgeois rightist tendencies.' Those concoctions have come from the said office and were first used to settle accounts with the youth press and then with some new initiatives of the SYFY. At the session of the basic LC organization at the SYFY Presidium, which was held last January, we discussed the announcement of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the bourgeois right. This announcement, with some ideological concoctions completely unclear to us, was met with strong and well-argued criticism and opposition by the party organization (consisting of the SYFY political officials and LC members in the administrative department)."

On this occasion, Markovic added, our basic LC organization created a working group with the task to find out how Stipe Oreskovic had become a member of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Ideological Activity Among Young People, although he was not nominated for the post by any youth body! This question has still not been answered because the basic LC organization has not had any meetings.

Nationalism Seen in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD141736 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—Individuals are making attempts to rehabilitate some prominent members of the Maspok [mass movement in Croatia in the seventies] and there are attempts to restore old ties between Croatian nationalists and nationalists in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This was said today by Kazimir Jelcic at a session of the Coordination Committee of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Gercegovina SAWP Republican Conference. At the same meeting, Dr Ibrahim Bakic pointed out attempts to revive certain nationalistic ideas from the seventies. That is, individuals are again raising the question of founding purely Muslim institutes and institutions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which they are supported by both Croatian and Serbian nationalists who hope that in this way they would "pass" with their nationalism. Bakic said that recently Academician Hamdija Cemerlic supported such ideas in an interview for INTERVJU.

Increase in Kosovo LC Membership Reported
LD131817 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 13 Jan 88

[Text] Pristina, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC, in its activity and consistent struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism and by its involvement in the overall stabilization of the situation and the creation of a more favorable political climate, has succeeded in winning over new forces and increasing interest in joining the ranks of the LCY. Commenting on the increase in the number of members in the Kosovo LC, Kacusa Jasari, chair of the commission of the LC Provincial Committee for development, organized construction, and cadre policy, said at today's meeting of this body, that this was recorded otherwise only in this province. It is a fact, she added, that in these circumstances working people and citizens in Kosovo are demonstrating their readiness, determination, and adherence to the policy of the LCY, by joining the ranks of the LC.

Kacusa Jasari illustrated this with the statistic that over the last 6 years 13,466 new members have been accepted into the LC of this province. At the same time, she drew attention to the fact that over the last 3 years the number of new LC members is on the decline and that there are some weaknesses in the recruitment policy. Thus, for example, in 1986 more than half of all basic LC organizations did not take on one new member.

Kosovo Doctor Jailed for 'National Hatred'
AU140950 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 9 Jan 88 p 17

[C.I. report "For National Hatred—8 Months Imprisonment"]

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 8 Jan—The judicial bench of Titova Mitrovica Magistrate's Court, headed by Shyqri Syla, has sentenced Dr Musa Miftari to 8 months imprisonment for the crime of inciting national hatred.

Dr Musa Miftari, a urological specialist, was earlier expelled from the LCY for influencing the deterioration of relations with Dr Dragan Petronjic, who then migrated to Nis, impelled by pressure from Dr Miftari. Following efforts by sociopolitical organizations, Dr Petronjic returned to Titova Mitrovica as head of the urological department. Dr Miftari did not wish to work alongside him, for which he was also dismissed from his job.